

ISSUES REPORT



Royal Commission on the Northern Environment

Miscellaneous publications December 1978

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* Carl Ray, a Sandy Lake Cree, whose work and example pioneered the current flowering of woodland Indian art. Died September 26th, 1978, age 34.



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Chapter	Page	Chapter	Page
Preface		Maps, Graphs and Charts	M1
A Perspective from Mr. Justice E.P. Hartt	A		
Chapter 1		Chapter 5	
The Land and the People North of 50	1	The Impacts of Development	
		Negotiate with the North	147
Chapter 2		Cultural Concerns	151
North of 50—Its Industry and Commerce		Mercury Pollution	155
How Best to Use the Resources We Have	43	High Costs	161
The Northern Economy	47	Alcoholism	165
Development Philosophies	53	Women in the North	169
Forestry	61	Discrimination and	
Mining	73	Inequality of Opportunity	173
Tourism	81	Out-Migration	179
		Employment	183
Chapter 3		Environmental Standards	189
Economic Realities In An Untamed Land			
Effective Planning	91	Chapter 6	
What The Land Provides	93	Northern Shortcomings—	
Agriculture	99	What Remains to Be Done	
Wild Rice	103	Education	203
Land Use	108	Health Care	209
		Housing	215
Chapter 4		Recreation	219
The Dynamics of Power—Energy Projects		Transportation	223
A Controversial Choice of Paths	115	Communications	231
The North's Role in Energy Production	117	Justice	237
Onakawana	121	Community Taxation	241
Marmion Lake Project	129	Treaties and Rights	245
The North's Wild Rivers	133		
Pipeline Prospect	139	Appendices	
		A, B, C	32
		D, E, F, G, H, I	251



THE ISSUES—A PERSPECTIVE

FROM MR. JUSTICE E.P. HARTT

When the creation of the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment was initially discussed, it was in response to the expressed concerns of both native and non-native Ontarians for the well-being of the northern habitat should plans for timber harvesting north of 50 be implemented.

From its inception, the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment has had a perplexing course to follow.

In November 1976, the Premier of Ontario proposed a commission of inquiry regarding the granting to Reed Ltd. of timber limits in the last large uncut stand in the province. The events which followed this announcement could not have been foreseen.

The proposed inquiry with a more traditional format of examining allegations evolved into a "new breed" of commission investigating all aspects of resource development north of the 50th parallel — a region comprising more than half the province's land mass.

What began as a single issue, Reed Ltd.'s interest in previously unharvested timber limits and its memorandum of understanding with the provincial government, soon evolved into a full-scale inquiry into plant, animal and human life, the purity of water and air, and survival itself in Ontario's north.

By the time of the Commission's formal establishment in July 1977 under Cabinet Order-in-Council 1900-77, the Commission mandate had been expanded to assess the environmental effects of major enterprises in the north, to recommend methods for their assessment and to examine alternative uses for northern resources. The Order-in-Council defined "environment" to include not only the natural environment but also the social, economic and cultural conditions influencing the lives of people and their communities.

While Reed's continuing interest in timber limits and the construction of a forestry complex subsequently became uncertain, the Commission's mandate expanded far beyond the original and specific Reed proposal.

Opinions expressed at meetings—Basis of report

As Commissioner, faced with such a broad mandate, it became clear to me that I should have to seek out the opinions of concerned Ontarians,

both northerners and southerners, native and non-native, on how best to address what they saw as the issues at hand. With this in mind, a series of preliminary hearings, at 14 northern locations and in Toronto, were held between November 1977 and February 1978.

The manner of proceeding of the Commission itself gave to northerners an opportunity to organize and the preliminary hearings, with the aid of the media, provided a platform to capture the attention of their fellow Ontarians. The opinions and viewpoints expressed at these hearings are represented in this Issues Report.

In advertisements in newspapers throughout Ontario and on radio in northern Ontario, the Commission invited people to participate in these preliminary meetings in order to "gather and disseminate information about the north of Ontario, its residents, communities, resources and enterprises." We asked people to advise us on what the Commission should do, what issues it should consider, and the ways in which it should conduct its inquiries. We invited people to have a say in the future of northern Ontario. The response was overwhelming. From public and high school students in small towns and reserves to mayors and chiefs, from business associations to environmental groups, from government agencies to industry spokesmen, the Commission received over 450 submissions.

The six segments or chapters within this volume constitute a record of divergent outlooks and opinions as they were presented to the Commission on the major issues troubling northerners and concerned southerners.

Our aim has been not to analyse or verify material presented but to help make clear to the people of the province the expressed concerns of those who have a real interest in the future of the north. The best way to do so was to let people speak for themselves.

What was said does not necessarily add up to an objective, balanced or complete picture. But the total impression is inescapable. There are many serious social, cultural and economic issues in the north for which there are no easy or simplistic answers, but which must be taken into account when attempting to formulate any resolutions for the north and its people. The subjective perspective as viewed by its residents is an essential ingredient in formulating practical policies.

It goes without saying that to the degree people live in ignorance of a problem, they will not act. This volume will give to the people of Ontario the opportunity to acquaint themselves with the concerns and views of northern people. In addition, it is a simple fact, emanating from the nature of bureaucracies, that persons with power are cut off from much valid information. Hopefully, the chapters which follow will channel much

otherwise inaccessible information to the decision makers at the apex of the hierarchies, both governmental and industrial.

Many readers may respond to a report on northern issues by saying it is nothing new. It is true that anyone really familiar with northern Ontario will find no surprises here. What this report attempts to do is to bring the full spectrum of northern issues into public view and to constitute a record of expressed concerns that beg to be heeded and resolved.

The issues raised at the hearings were many and varied. From Moosonee, to Osnaburgh, to Red Lake, people told the Commission about the state of the northern economy, the need for diversification and employment, and the necessity of learning from the mistakes of the past. Most recognized that any future development would be based on the natural resources of their area.

Wide differences on questions of development

Across the north, there was unison in the call for "controlled development" to protect the environment and to ensure a legacy for northerners in generations to come. Agreement, however, ended there. Opinions differed widely on what kind of development was favoured and what controls were required. Initially, such a division of opinion was to be expected because the resources of the north serve the needs of a population with diverse interests, a variety of cultural traditions and lifestyles and hence, in many instances, conflicting views.

In the compilation of major issues, such questions as the economic potential of mining, forestry, energy production and tourism came to be juxtaposed against the intrinsic and unquantifiable "value" of the north itself, both to those who live there and to those who have come to love the region.

Questions of land use in northern Ontario have been characterized by differences between competing interests. Conflicts include the ongoing struggle between the sport fisherman and the commercial fisherman over the fish resource, the differences between the tourist operator and the forest industry over the construction of access roads, and the tension between the trapper and the mining and forest industries over land use priorities.

Due to the conflicting nature of different pursuits, confrontations are real. Because of the existence of cultural differences in northern Ontario, Euro-Canadian, Ojibway and Cree, complicated by a multiplicity of values and attitudes, these conflicts are, perhaps, inevitable. Numerous submissions at the hearings optimistically recommended a comprehensive planning process which would involve the people affected and would consider and resolve competitive claims on resources while preserving the natural environment to a maximum degree. Even if one assumes that

such conflicts can today be reconciled in this way, we are talking about a fundamental reassessment of the relationship between government and the market system, necessitating a degree of governmental involvement far greater than that which is currently acceptable.

While the interest in development could be interpreted as an overriding concern for the economic possibilities of the north, substantial comment was offered on the negative social impacts of development.

Social problems that exist now were acknowledged and a widely-based fear expressed that these maladies would be exacerbated by industrial development or governmental neglect. The warning from many speakers was that, whatever the potential for growth that mining, forestry, energy production or tourism hold for the north, questions of social, cultural and economic upheaval must be faced *before* industrial and governmental decisions are made. It also became evident that solutions originating exclusively in Ontario's south and based on southern realities have little relevance and no place north of 50.

Very eloquently, northerners and others interested in northern Ontario told the Commission of lessons from past development experience which have given them the conviction that no satisfactory solution could be found without their own meaningful participation, both native and non-native, in the decision-making process.

If a single position can be identified as being the voice of the north, it is this desire of its residents to take a much more active role in shaping their destiny. After hearing and reviewing all submissions to the Commission, I found the method of business and governmental decision-making regarding the north to be a paramount issue.

New mechanisms needed to reflect northern realities

What became clear to me was that new mechanisms both public and voluntary were required, structures which would enable northerners to sit down with government and other interested parties to resolve problems and to plan for the future. That is why, rather than presenting a preliminary blueprint for development north of 50 that most observers seemed to expect, I chose to recommend mechanisms for involving affected people in community, district and senior governmental decision-making.

Thus, in April 1978, I presented my preliminary report to the Premier in which I recommended that a continuing commission on the northern environment consider the ongoing questions of development north of 50 and how instruments such as the Environmental Assessment Act may be utilized to ensure adequate social and physical planning before development occurs.

Secondly, I advocated that a task force of northern residents be

formed by the Commission to encourage dialogue with and among fellow northerners. In this way, I envisaged the encouraging of voluntary groups and organizations in the discovery of better ways for individuals and communities to relate to the larger public institutions, both governmental and industrial. In addition, the task force would be in a position, as northerners, to consider new standards for the delivery of services to the towns and unorganized communities and districts across northern Ontario.

Finally, I recommended a tri-partite body composed of federal, provincial and Indian members to deal with the outstanding and unresolved issues of status Indian people. Due to the unique constitutional position of native people, it is necessary to involve both levels of government in such deliberations.

In making these recommendations, I was cognizant of the fact that existing processes have failed to deal effectively with the problems identified by the residents of the north during the course of the hearings. The problems extant in northern Ontario cannot be resolved by relying on outdated legislation, inappropriate institutions and attitudes unrelated to present-day realities.

Resource development—who benefits—who pays?

Our society is being asked to take a more responsible approach to industrial growth, based in part upon the *confines* of our resources and the essential balance of nature. Modern technology has brought enormous benefits but at great cost. What became evident through the preliminary hearings of this Commission was that, most often, the people who bear the real burden of the costs, in human terms, are not the ones who gain the large share of the benefits. We are faced with questions related to ways of determining who should benefit from “development”, under what circumstances and at what cost to others.

People from northern Ontario are confronting us with the unpleasant effects of our decisions on their physical and human environment. They pose the need for change as a challenge and a demand. If we choose to continue with present-day forms of decision-making, then socially-disruptive consequences could be anticipated. Decisions paralleling past experience will often be profoundly counter-productive, particularly if applied in areas where expectations have changed.

Through the Commission’s hearings, northerners advised the people of Ontario that conditions in their part of the province have altered in two fundamental ways. Firstly, the limits of some of our resources are in sight.

Secondly, the people of northern Ontario are no longer content to see

resources taken away from their home region without any thought given to the future or for the replacement or rebuilding of a productive environment.

What northerners are talking about, it seems to me, is a pervading sense of powerlessness. Surely, it can be conceded that they understand their own needs better than anyone else. Yet northerners seldom are consulted and, if they are, it is all too often as a procedural device merely to make decisions already determined more acceptable publicly. In a democracy, public policy cannot be formulated legitimately if the concerns and needs of those affected by that policy are excluded from meaningful consideration.

What is required in Ontario's north is a type of citizen participation which involves a real shift in power — something more than a mere branch office approach which gives the appearance of decentralization while, in fact, retaining real decision-making power with the centralized bureaucracy.

Unfortunately, rhetoric about the needed decentralization of power has failed to overcome the dynamics of centralization.

Native people, especially, feel helpless in the face of institutions which they do not comprehend, programs controlled by persons whose values they often do not share.

One can wreak havoc with benevolence as well as with malevolence. If this is accepted, it calls into question the basis of the current relationship between governments and native people.

Today there is no question of the state of dependence of Indian people in our country. They did not ask to be placed in this situation. Indeed, native people seek independence and identity. They want opportunities for economic development which are compatible with the way they see the world. They wish to return to some extent to their self-sufficient ways. By this, I do not mean to suggest that native people in northern Ontario live in an enclave where time stands still. It is impossible to bring back the past and I have been told by them that this is not what they want. Yet the negative social and environmental implications of technological change are obvious. What is also apparent is that there are costs to be borne in not incorporating some of the more beneficial elements of what we would call "progress". Confronted with this dilemma, native people ask themselves how they can adapt technological innovations into their lifestyle while retaining their own cultural values.

This question posed by Indians in Canada is a basic moral quandary affecting native people throughout the world. Native people must be allowed the opportunity of answering this question within Canadian society. In attempting to assist we must be careful not to make probable the substituting of one type of dependency for another; that hopefully, the criteria

of social progress in the future will not be related solely to the increase in access to commodities produced in our market-intensive economy.

Native people and culture will outlive their problems

We are fortunate that, despite the insurmountable odds, native people have survived and their singular and spiritual culture has been preserved as a legacy for all of us. From what native people had to say during the hearings of the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment, it is evident that the people and their culture, however it may evolve, will outlive whatever problems they now face. And in the process, we will be witnessing a whole people struggling to re-interpret their myths, hopes and beliefs in order to survive.

The western world is only just awakening to the values by which native and aboriginal peoples live every day. As western society becomes increasingly aware of limitations to industrial growth, of the need to become a conserver society, and of depending upon renewable energies to a far greater degree, its members are also rediscovering the values of life that coincide with these choices.

The attitudes and chosen lifestyle of native people north of 50 brought this message to me very clearly. Their self-sufficiency on the land, their respect for all living things, their decisions made by consensus rather than majority vote, all pointed out the values of mutuality in life.

What I found among native people that I met during the preliminary hearings was a common attitude of utmost respect for the environment and for humanity.

This is not to say that native people are the only ones who appreciate and respect the northern environment. Love for the land was also professed by many of those who had more recently chosen to make the north their home, as well as by those who had been there for generations.

Greater control over their future a regional goal

I took on the task of the Commission having no doubt in my mind that the people most affected by decisions made about Ontario north of 50 — those who live there — should be consulted about their future.

During the course of the preliminary hearings, I was confirmed in this belief by what people told us. The north has much to teach all of us in Ontario. Probably the most important lesson, I repeat, is that we need more acceptable techniques of decision-making. The existing forms have failed northerners and they explain why and how — the people and their interests have been secondary to the acquisition of wealth for the rest of the province and elsewhere.

Decisions made about activities in northern Ontario have often been

based on ideas of the “general good” of the whole province. What northerners asked during the hearings was who should benefit first from development — the nation, the province, the south, the north, the local people, the developer? As a politically powerless element of the province, northerners sense that their interests are submerged in the political determination of the “general good”. The question of northern people’s interests in Ontario has its parallel in other provinces. It is a difficult problem with which to grapple. How much autonomy can one region have? How can we as citizens of one province, part of a larger nation, deal with the special needs of particular people and particular regions? How can people become involved in affecting decisions about their lives and their futures?

The economic questions asked are just as difficult. What would be the effects of continued slow development of the north? What of mushrooming development? What difficulties are imposed in waiting for political trade-offs to be negotiated before deciding whether to develop resources? Is industrial growth the only answer? What about subsidies to encourage traditional activities which do not contribute to pollution, social disruption or economic dependence? Should some taxes and royalties go directly to localities impinged upon? What social and environmental precautions must be considered by the developer to be necessary costs of a project?

Although there have been numerous reports about northern Ontario from committees, task forces and boards, the unanimity among northerners to have a say in their future has apparently not been recognized or documented. Through the process of the Commission hearings, a public record of these meetings has been compiled and these questions can never again be buried, pushed aside or ignored. I have noted proposals for incorporation of Ontario north into a separate province, for regional self-rule within the greater province, for special fiscal status for the north and, finally, for greater co-operation between the two halves of Ontario.

Some may argue that this Commission should have recommended specific modes of consultation and participation. As I outlined earlier, I have chosen to recommend two experimental processes in recognition of the fact that the only way true forms of decision-making can evolve is precisely through the action and involvement of people in the north, using their ideas, suggestions and approaches.

The prior rights and particular status of native people

Native people throughout the north of Canada are pressing their case for increased self-determination. “Land claims” constitute one of the fundamental disputes to be faced by our country. Underlying any plans for development of natural resources or any programs for social change, we are confronted by the existence of Indian people and the fact of their prior

“rights” and particular constitutional status. Their urging of a readjustment of political power sharing is in keeping with provincial demands for a basic shift in power during constitutional talks. To paraphrase Arnold Toynbee, the world famous historian, change comes from areas where people have not participated fully in past successes. Thus, we can appreciate the initiatives coming from the north.

The legitimate demand of native people resident in northern Ontario to participate more fully and meaningfully in dealing with their present problems, and in determining policies affecting the use and preservation of existing natural resources in a manner consistent with future needs, is a thrust for change that cannot be ignored. The political process is frequently seen as one which inhibits politicians from taking farsighted views. Short-term solutions seem more attractive because they are more likely to be politically rewarding. To a body of people who have been ignored, government appears unresponsive to long-term needs even though such long-term policies would be consistent with a long-term self-interest of the entire society. For example, to the extent that the native people of the north are deprived of the opportunity for self-sufficiency and economic self-reliance, the cost to the more affluent segments of our society, particularly southern Ontario, is enormous in terms of providing social services, medical services, and indeed the total welfare program. These costs are bound to multiply enormously if the people are forced to continue to remain largely dependent on welfare programs for their survival. Furthermore, the lack of adequate amenities provides a motivation to migrate from the north to the south or to non-native centres in the north. At the same time, the population of these native communities is multiplying at a rate twice that of the general population. In most native communities, almost 60 percent of the population is under the age of 25 years. When these teenagers and young people in their twenties migrate to the centres of the south, they frequently find themselves unprepared to adjust to the urban society and that society is unwilling to accommodate them. They cannot support themselves because they have had no opportunity to learn the skills and the work habits and values of the urban society.

The consequence of our failure to deal effectively with the problems of northern native people is to vastly increase the cost of welfare as well as the cost of policing, medical services and housing. There is an urgent need to have public policies instituted which will contribute to the development of viable northern communities. Integral to this must be the active participation of native peoples. It is clearly in the long-term public interest that policies so arrived at be implemented.

Standard of living in the north—a province-wide interest

The concept of northern Ontario as an underdeveloped area in relation to the industrialized south is not an easy one to accept, nor is it a

common frame of reference for most Ontarians in which to view the northern half of our province. Most resource development decisions are made in the interests of the province as an entity and tending to view the north as a hinterland rather than a homeland.

In order to conserve the northern part of the province as a place to live, northerners must have a say in its development. And this change in our way of doing things might affect notions of what constitutes a fair share in prosperity throughout the province.

All of us prefer to avoid examining too closely the assumptions under which we operate. Yet when we bring a legitimating concept out into the open, stating it clearly, the opportunity and need for reexamination appears and the door is open to the exploration of alternatives. For example, it is likely that most Ontarians do not recognize that their lifestyle and standard of living are due in substantial part to the people and resources of northern Ontario. There is an unequal interdependency in this province which is being questioned by northerners and which must be brought out and understood before it can be altered.

We must face the fact that if we are truly to strive for a more equitable deal for the north and some redistribution of wealth from south to north, that it is going to affect us all as citizens of Ontario.

The beliefs and myths which determine the distribution of resources in any society are central to the operation of that society — and it is these basic concepts that are being questioned.

In a more general context, we have, I think, arrived at the time when social unrest cannot be bought off with the rewards and expectations of unlimited expansion. The problem that growth was meant to avoid — the problem of distribution — we must now face in express terms. What I am, of course, referring to is the more just division of a diminishing, or a least not rapidly expanding, product to an ever-increasing number of legitimate claimants and participants.

What is at stake is a fairly fundamental reorientation of our attitudes towards power, attitudes which will not be easy to change. Nevertheless, if we are to be sincere in our determination to redress the grievances of the north, such issues must be faced.

It may be disquieting for some to consider the adjustments required in order to respond to northerners' desire for greater self-determination. But upon reflection, Ontarians would agree that what people north of 50 are saying is no different than what every free person wants — control over one's life and destiny.

To a great extent, we create the future by what we do today. If we take this opportunity to encourage the evolution of new techniques of participation, we will serve not only the north, but also the rest of the province and the nation. If we do not take this opportunity, we will lose a

chance to create processes which will serve our times.

The alternative is to impose an arbitrary, comprehensive blueprint for development; and to even consider this, in my opinion, is to be out of touch with current realities. Today societal changes are not made by decree. The premise that governments can control the order of events in society and cause the future to evolve in a predictable manner, that is, that rational men can cause events to occur logically, must be recognized as pure fiction and accepted as such. Even if the goals of governmental action represent desirable social aims, we must not delude ourselves into thinking that these goals can be attained *solely* by deliberate organization. It is surely unnecessary to emphasize the self-intent — that direct measures for coping in a universal way with our major societal problems have, on the whole, been unsuccessful, resulting in unforeseen and undesired consequences, often just the opposite to those intended by their well-intentioned advocates. An authoritatively planned cultural division of society would be artificial and unacceptable, decentralization under central direction contradictory, and cultural diversity or unity, cultivated for its own sake, destructive.

Rather, by allowing the people of the north to articulate and define the issues confronting them and encouraging active participation in their resolution, it is hoped that a realistic challenge for them and for all Ontarians will emerge. A challenge which embraces the freedom to question and differ with the basic concepts behind governmental policies, industrial decision and public attitudes.

What is being suggested is the development of an orientation away from centralized forms of social control and decision-making into experimentation with ones that are decentralized and “community” oriented.

The adjustment towards the pluralist society that such an approach envisages does not mean that every group or community or region can do as they please or that all issues are equally important — it is not a form of societal relationship without priorities. On the contrary, such an approach implies shared meaning, while at the same time, accepting less than total overlap. It recognizes societal interdependence and ongoing relationships which require coordination and the setting of an order of importance. This, of course, suggests a choice and by the same token, a set of values. No society can survive without moral values that have general authority.

The government has proven its willingness to create new structures for participation by establishing the first decision-oriented tripartite process in Canada. I have accepted the appointment as Commissioner and will work with the federal and provincial governments and Indian people

in this process which is now established and known as the Indian Commission of Ontario. Issues which have been long outstanding are being addressed by all parties in a renewed spirit of cooperation and understanding. I am hopeful that this will prove to be a significant step towards a continuing relationship between the Indian people and the rest of society, a development which will be in the best interest of all Ontarians.

My successor at the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment since August 2nd, 1978, is a distinguished northerner, John Edwin Fahlgren. His task is to continue the work which began under my direction: to examine the human and environmental consequences of economic change and resource use north of 50; to investigate the processes by which decisions are made on these matters; to assist the people of the north in deciding on the kind of future they want for the land they live in; and eventually, to recommend to the Government of Ontario how all these issues should be resolved. I am certain that under his direction a great deal will be done to lay the foundation of a bright future for the northern half of our province, a future in which all Ontarians can share.

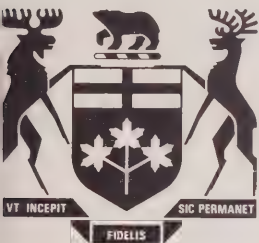
In conclusion, may I restate my own conviction after exposure to the issues of Ontario north of 50. The process by which change can be introduced constructively on all social, economic and cultural questions is by involving northerners in the decisions which will affect their lives as well as future generations. If the government acts accordingly and with some urgency, it will serve the long-term well-being of all Ontarians. We must not only listen seriously to the people north of 50 but we must respond meaningfully and with understanding. The fact is that our future is both interdependent and intertwined.

December 1978

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Pat Hartt". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with a large initial "P".



ISSUES



A Background Paper on Behalf of The Royal Commission on the Northern Environment.

Chapter

1

The Land and the People North of 50

The province north of the 50th latitude remains an unknown quantity to the people of Ontario as well as most Canadians. "The Land and the People North of 50" is an introductory chapter to a series of papers dealing with questions which affect the lives of the people in the north and have a bearing on the economic well-being of Ontario's population in the south. Subsequent chapters will reflect the views of these northern people and of people in the south as expressed to the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment in the winter of 1977-78.

This chapter gives an overview of the geography and history of north of 50 and outlines the crucial issues facing the north today.

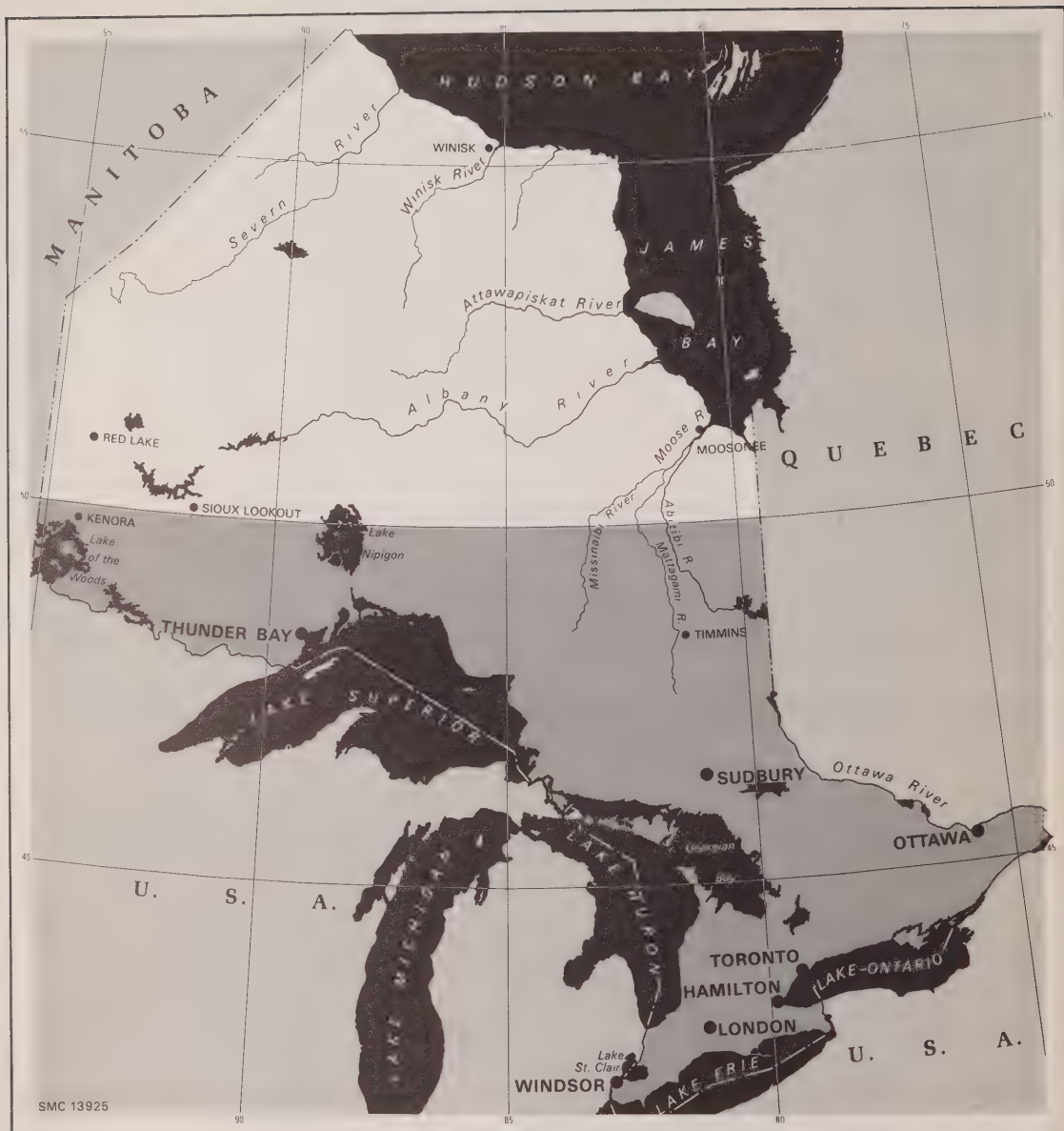
With a history of economic exploitation of its natural resources, what is the future of the northern

environment, its towns and people who are dependent on logging, mining and tourism?

What is the future of the majority of the population north of 50, the native people?

What are the prospects for such large-scale ventures as Reed (timber, pulp), Onakawana (mining), Ontario Hydro (water diversion), Polar Gas (pipelines)? What effects might they have on the northern environment?

From the south, Ontario's north is seen as a last frontier awaiting development, an area of timber, energy and minerals, the size of Manitoba. Native people, on the other hand, regard the land as sacred and inviolate, the basic tenet of their belief in existence, past, present and future.



More than half of
Ontario lies North of 50

North of 50 — An Overview

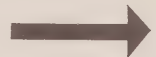
Ontario north of the 50th latitude covers more than half of the province. North of the CNR line to Hudson Bay, east of Manitoba to James Bay and Quebec, its 210,000 square mile area is roughly divided between the hard rock Precambrian Shield of the northwest and central area and the boglike Hudson Bay Lowlands of the east. Its people live in tiny, scattered communities, mostly in the northwest or along the bays and waterways of the northeast.

Ontario north of 50 is a vast land of forests, lakes and tundra. Mainly flat, its climate is predominantly severe, and its soil discouragingly sparse. North of 50 is a land of moose, caribou, fur-bearing animals and many species of birds and fish.

The written history of the north begins with the fur trade in the early 17th century, from Hudson Bay southward and from the Great Lakes westward. Involvement of the native people was essential to the fur trade. Gradually, however, the native people began to lose their independent way of life as the number of fur-bearing animals declined and the Hudson's Bay Company's monopoly was established.

With the advent of railways in the late 19th and early 20th century, tree-felling and mining evolved as important industries in the north. The harnessing of the water resources of the north for hydro-electric power was yet another development not dependent upon Indian aid, as was the fur trade, but which harmed Indian livelihood through flooding of forest and wild rice areas.

Treaties were negotiated between the federal government and the Indians in the late 19th century (Treaties #3 and #5) and the early 20th century (Treaty #9) to determine title to the land so that development could proceed. The subsequent establishment of Indian reserves led to a further decrease in independence and nomadic traditions. Poverty and alcoholism, and continuing reliance on government assistance through welfare payments and make-work programs, have become the hallmarks of Indian settlements.



The 50th parallel divides Ontario's 412,000 square miles. Yet only one in every two hundred of the province's eight and a half million residents lives in the north.

Today, the people north of 50 live in small urban settings with about 11,000 people in the larger towns of the southern section, 11,000 on reserve land, and 8,000 in smaller settlements scattered throughout, mainly in the Shield. Whether white or Indian, the people share the difficulties and higher costs of living in isolated communities. They make do with limited and expensive supplies. They face the fact of either economic dependency and poverty, or economic insecurity. Inadequate health, education, transportation and communications services in the north are amongst the range of problems faced by northern residents. Both federal and provincial governments have legislative powers and responsibilities in the north of Ontario. Conflicts between them, and some lack of co-ordination further complicate the lives of northern residents.

The north today reflects three centuries of resource exploitation, with the logging and mining industries remaining the main industrial wage employers today. Tourism and transportation now also account for many jobs. Earned wages do benefit the north but profits generated from developments in that area rarely remain in the north. Searching questions are being asked about the benefits of uncontrolled development — prompted in part by several projects that may be contemplated for the area north of 50—the 19,000 square miles of timber planned to be cut by Reed Ltd., the Polar Gas pipeline traversing the northwest, Ontario Hydro's diversion of the main rivers flowing into James Bay and the Onakawana lignite strip mine in the northeast. The searchlight of public concern has now been cast on the land and the people north of 50.

How will the choice be made between development and conservation? And by whom? What will be the future of native people in the north? How will conflicts between two levels of government who deliver services to northern residents be resolved? How will conflicting uses of the land be balanced?

Chapter 1

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE NORTH OF FIFTY

“Northern Ontario is a living experiment in the co-existence of two peoples with different cultures, different ways of looking at man, and different understandings of the relationship between man and nature. Whether or not their goals for the future of the north are complementary or in conflict is something we do not know, for the conditions do not yet exist for satisfactory communication between the two ways of life. It is my conviction that working together toward practical and fair solutions to urgent questions of economic subsistence is not only a top priority but the best way to clarify the relationships between white and native ways and to discover the common goals underlying the fact of our interdependence.”

Mr. Justice E. P. Hartt

THE ISSUES which trouble the people of Ontario's north, and many others too, cannot be understood without some basic knowledge of life there, of the northern economy, and of the geographical and historical influences which delineate these issues.

Northerners are well aware that to most people in the province, Ontario “north of 50” is still what it was to the early cartographers: a blank area at the top of the map.

What Do We Mean by “The North”?

For the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment, “the North” is that part of Ontario above the 50th parallel of north latitude, extending northward to the shore of Hudson Bay, and bounded on the west by the Province of Manitoba and on the east by James Bay and the Province of Quebec, and in size, comparable to the whole of Manitoba (some 550,000 km² or 210,000 square miles) or Saskatchewan. The north comprises slightly more than half of Ontario.

This is the bare geographical description. More striking is the fact that it lies beyond the northern edge of intensive agriculture and industrialized settlement. Only a third of one per cent of Ontario's population lives there, approximately 30,000 in all. Its tiny, scattered communities contrast sharply with the cities which southerners generally associate with “northern Ontario”: Thunder Bay, Sudbury, Timmins, Sault Ste. Marie. Its traplines and fishing camps are a world apart from the office towers and steel mills to the south that to a considerable extent depend for their existence on the extraction and harvesting of the north's larger settlements. Only a third of the north's inhabitants live in its towns.

For 20,000 Indian people living north of 50, the land, the forests, and the lakes are their traditional home and source of life.

The Geological Foundation

To explain the distinctiveness of the north and to acknowledge its identity, we must first consider the land itself. The geological foundation of the entire north is the Precambrian Shield, the vast sweep of very old, very hard rock that embraces much of central Canada. In places, as the Shield was worn down through its billions of years of existence, underlying ore-bearing greenstone belts¹ emerged.



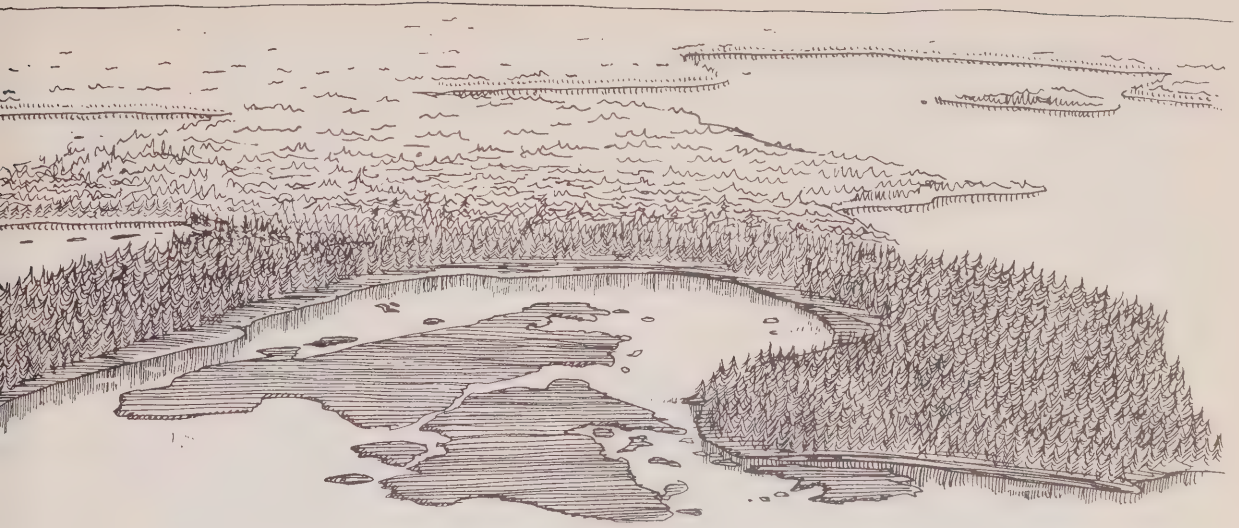
In the southwestern portion of the north, most of the land surface is the Shield itself, covered only by thin veneers of sand, gravel and organic material.

To the north and east, the Hudson Bay Lowlands extend inland from the shores of Hudson and James Bays. Here the Precambrian Shield is overlain by more recent sedimentary materials deposited by the advancing and retreating waters of ancient seas and glacial lakes. This division between the Shield and Lowlands regions is a key geographical feature of the north.

While the geological foundation of the north is the underlying Precambrian Shield and the underlying sedimentary strata in the Lowlands, most of its present surface forms result from glaciation during the last Ice Age. The advancing glaciers scoured and levelled the Shield's low mountains, piling up moraines or ridges of sand, gravel and stone; retreating, they left similar deposits, disrupted drainage patterns and created a myriad of lakes.

The outcome is a landscape of lakes, low hills and hummocky terrain in most of the Shield region, and low-lying bog and muskeg in much of the Hudson Bay Lowlands. Five main river systems, the Severn, Winisk, Attawapiskat, Albany and Moose-Abitibi, drain northward and eastward into Hudson and James Bays.

¹An imprecise term for basic igneous rock.



Climate—A Shaping Force

Climate is, of course, the other natural force shaping the land of the north. In comparison with similar latitudes in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, the climate of the north is moderate, influenced by the waters of Hudson and James Bays. Relative to southern Ontario, however, it is severe, appreciably cooler in the summer and much colder in winter.¹ The north has more snow and a shorter growing season² with little more than a third of the number of frost-free days³ enjoyed in Ontario's south. Permafrost, or permanently frozen ground, is continuous in the far north-west of the Lowlands, discontinuous and sporadic further south until warmer climates prevent its formation.

What Grows in the North?

Clearly, neither land nor climate helps in the creation of fertile topsoil or to the growth of anything but the hardiest vegetation. Certain species of trees do grow there, spruce, jackpine, poplar, birch among others; but growth is slow. Contrary to general belief, the only dense forests of well-formed trees are in the southwestern corner of the region. Beyond that, tree growth gradually thins out, until by the shore of Hudson Bay, the trees are stunted and scattered.

Other vegetation consists largely of shrubs such as blueberries and junipers and bog plants, like waterlilies and cattails. The wild rice which grows in some of the lakes and rivers of the north is not, in fact, rice at all, but a tall aquatic plant indigenous to North America and unrelated to the rice of warmer climates.

¹Mean daily temperature in July is 12°C. to 19°C.

Mean daily temperature in January is -18°C. to -24°C.

Recorded temperature extremes are 42.2°C. and -58.3°C.

²Mean annual growing season is 130 to 160 days.

³Number of frost-free days is 75 to 85.



What Lives and Thrives?

The harsh natural environment of the north is no more favourable to wildlife than to vegetation. The number of species is limited.

The land supports moose and deer, black bears, wolves and foxes, some members of the cat family, and a variety of other fur-bearing animals in varying densities. Caribou are found towards Hudson Bay, and there are polar bears along the coast, near Cape Henrietta Maria. Pike, pickerel, whitefish, trout and other species of fish inhabit the lakes and rivers. Ducks, geese, grouse, ptarmigan, hawks, eagles, falcons and owls are notable, although over 180 species of birds have been identified. In contrast with other living creatures, insects thrive at certain seasons, and are not the least among the difficulties of life for man or beast.

The Early People

Although nature has not been bounteous to the north, it is not a barren desert. An inhospitable land, it permits self-sufficiency to a small human population willing to adapt itself to the demands and limitations of its environment and content to endure a rigorous life. That is what Henry Hudson found when, in 1610, he landed on the shores of the bay later named for him.

The people of the north in Henry Hudson's time were nomadic hunters, constantly on the move. Movement of game and the change of seasons dictated their migrations. These early people travelled in small bands, and though certain places were sacred to them, they had no permanent settlements.

By the very nature of their way of life, their numbers and previous history remain a mystery. They are believed to have lived in the north for many centuries. Throughout this time, there were probably not more than a few tens of thousands in all of the north. The land could support no more. Only the hardy, and the lucky, could have survived the harsh conditions of their lives.

Those early peoples spoke dialects of Cree and Ojibway, related forms within the Algonkian language group that extended over much of central North America at that time.





The Land – Differences in Perception

The ideas, beliefs and attitudes which people tend to take for granted, which seem to them to represent the natural order of things, are most often the products of the culture which shaped them from birth. In turn, the culture of a society is, in large measure, a response to its environment.

It is not surprising that wide gaps existed between the values and assumptions of the Indians of the north and those of the Europeans who appeared during and after the 17th century. These respective values and assumptions were derived from entirely different kinds of experience. But these differences led to at least one extremely important area of misunderstanding.

The Europeans came from agricultural societies in which people occupied the same piece of land more or less permanently and subdued nature to reap regular harvests from the land. It was natural for them to regard land as a commodity, a unit of property which was necessarily owned by someone, and which could be bought and sold.

The Indians, on the other hand, regarded themselves not as conquerors of nature but as part of it. The land supported them as it did the animals they hunted, but it did not, and could not, belong to them. It and they were embraced in the arms of the Great Spirit. This fundamental difference in perception of the nature of a person's relationship with the land later came to assume a great deal of importance. But this did not happen for two and a half centuries.



The explorers were followed by fur traders. In 1670, 60 years after Henry Hudson's arrival, King Charles II granted a charter to the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England Trading Into Hudson's Bay.¹ By the end of the century, several trading posts had been established on the coasts and rivers of the north.

Neither trapping nor trading was a novelty to the Indians (archaeological discoveries provide clear evidence of earlier trade with other Indian peoples), so trading in furs with the newcomers was readily accepted. It continued for nearly 200 years, and was regarded as profitable by both sides.

To the Indians it brought tools, firearms and much else of practical utility, upon which, however, they became dependent. It also brought liquor and previously unknown diseases, afflictions which were to take a grave toll of health and human wellbeing among them.



¹Now known as The Bay or The Hudson's Bay Company.



The Era of the Fur Trade

Needless to say, the motivation of the fur traders was not philanthropic. Exploitation and even violence occurred. But the Company did not hold all the cards, particularly during the period of competition with its rival the Northwest Company.¹ Competition brought down the price of goods which the Indians purchased at the trading posts, while the two companies could be played off against each other to secure a higher price for fur.

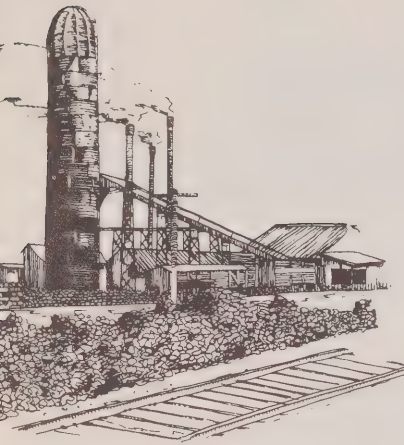
Above all, the fur trade rarely led to fundamental conflict between natives and whites. The latter were scattered, few in number, concerned only with trade and not with settlement, occupation of land or exploitation of its resources.

Thus for a long time the native people pursued their traditional way of life with little interference. Life, however, was increasingly affected by an ever-growing dependence on the goods supplied by the trading posts, and in time, even on employment there. As the fur-trading era drew to its close, permanent settlement was beginning to replace the nomadic life.

By the time the Hudson's Bay Company regained its original monopoly by absorbing its later rival in 1821, the fur trade was already beginning to decline due to decreasing demand and depletion of fur resources. In fact, this decline helped to weaken the Northwest Company, as did the near-disappearance of game animals as a result of fires and over-hunting. Dependence of the Indians on the trading posts increased.

By the time the new Dominion government assumed control of Rupert's Land in 1870, previously under the virtually absolute rule of the Hudson's Bay Company, the era of the fur trade was effectively over. So too was the traditional independent way of life of the Indian people.

¹Founded in 1782 by a group of British and American fur traders who had taken over the old French canoe routes. In 1821, it merged with the Hudson's Bay Company.



The Coming of the Industrial Age

The construction of the transcontinental railway in the last decades of the 19th century introduced a new era for northern Ontario. It was expected that the building of railways would bring agricultural settlement. To some extent it did. More importantly, the railways permitted the exploitation of timber and mineral resources. Northwestern Ontario also became a principal corridor for the shipment east of western grain.

The first railway to be built north of 50 was the National Transcontinental (Grand Trunk Pacific), in 1915, now part of the Canadian National system. A branch line was built from Fort William (Thunder Bay) to link with this line at Superior Junction, near Sioux Lookout, mainly to handle grain shipments. To encourage settlement and resource exploitation, and with visions of a thriving port on James Bay, the Ontario government financed the construction of the Temiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway (now the Ontario Northland Railway), completed to Moosonee in 1932.

Steel rails succeeded water as the basis of communication and permanent settlement in the north. Small railway towns appeared at intervals along the line, some of them later becoming logging towns as well. Roads came after the railways, linking some of the towns with each other and with the south. In later years, both rails and roads were pushed northward to serve remote mining communities.

Thus a man-made basis for development was imposed on the geography of the north. A corridor of transportation and settlement now ran east and west for hundreds of miles just north of the 50th parallel in the Shield region. Two branches stretched northward to Red Lake and Pickle Lake. Further east, in the Lowlands region, a third branch extended north to the foot of James Bay.

The railways provided the bridgehead which opened up the north to its second "invasion" by outsiders. The first had been by water, from the sea to the east and north, with its objective, furs. The second was by land, from the south, its objectives, trees and minerals.

In part, the mounting demand for wood, much of it in the form of railway ties, was created by the very building of the railways. As a result, by the end of the 19th century the forests of the Ottawa Valley, Wisconsin and Minnesota were depleted, at a time when the demand for timber in the United States was increasing. With the forests of northern Ontario now accessible by rail, it was natural for them to be



regarded by both Canadian and U.S. lumbermen as a new source of supply. Predictably, the expansion of logging operations was generally from south to north, from the richer to the poorer woodlands. Now, in 1978 almost 11 percent of Ontario's annual timber harvest is cut north of 50. And the pressure to cut further and further north is increasing even though the quality of timber is lower.

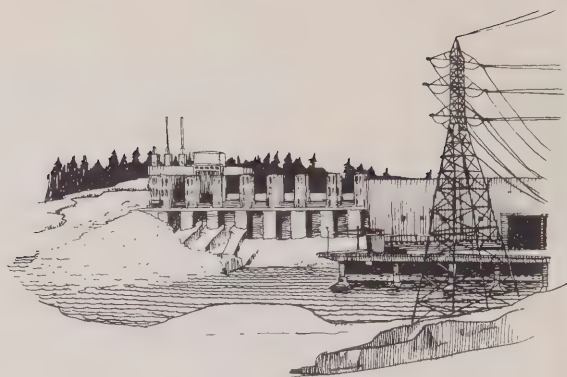
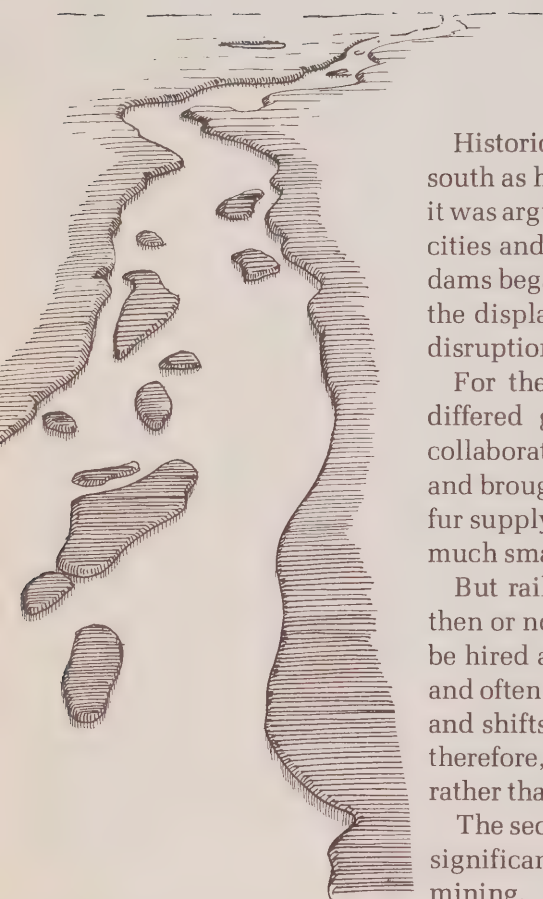
Mining operations have also developed in a south to north pattern. Here a principal limiting factor continues to be accessibility, rather than soil or climate. The greenstone belts of the Precambrian Shield were found to contain important deposits of nickel, copper, iron, gold, silver and uranium, as well as zinc, asbestos, lead, molybdenum and other minerals.

These belts occur throughout the Shield region and are presumed to extend under the sedimentary rocks of the Lowlands. Here overburden and these layers, together many metres thick, greatly hamper exploration. The sedimentary limestones, dolomites and shales are not themselves rich in minerals, though deposits of lignite (low-grade coal), fireclay, kaolin and other industrial minerals are known. The existence of oil and natural gas is possible.

Valuable minerals were known to exist in northern Ontario early in the 19th century and perhaps before, but it was railway construction that revealed important deposits and made their exploitation feasible. As with the north's forests, the railways were the key to the development of its minerals, providing a base for exploration and a means for shipping ore south for refining. Many geologists believe that further north there may be equally rich ore bodies, but their inaccessibility has helped keep them from discovery and exploitation.

North of 50, gold was found on McKenzie Island in Red Lake as early as the 1890's. Mining of gold in the north did not begin until the opening of the Red Lake Mine in 1925, followed by the Pickle Crow Mine and several other properties in the thirties. Most of these mines, either small in size or rendered uneconomic by the price of gold, closed within the next 30 years.

World War II placed great demands on Canada's industrial front and greatly stimulated mineral exploration. Beginning in the late forties, mines opened up in the Shield for zinc, copper and silver at Confederation Lake, for iron at Bruce Lake, both in the Red Lake area, and for copper at Pickle Lake.



Historically, the north's wild rivers have been viewed from the south as having great potential for hydro development. These rivers, it was argued, could be harnessed to supply electricity to the growing cities and industries below the 50th parallel. The building of power dams began north of 50, at Ear Falls in 1929, in some cases leading to the displacement of Indian communities, flooding of traplines, and disruption of fishing.

For the Indians, the second economic "invasion" of the north differed greatly from the first "invasion". The fur trade was a collaborative arrangement in which the Indians trapped the animals and brought the pelts to the trading posts. There might have been no fur supply at all without them, and certainly it would have been very much smaller.

But railway and dam construction, logging and mining did not, then or now, depend on Indian involvement or skills. Indians might be hired as unskilled labourers, but they were generally not needed and often, it seems, not wanted. The regular pattern of industry, times and shifts, was alien to them and not easily accommodated. Mostly, therefore, the Indian people could only stand by as passive witnesses, rather than join as equal participants with workers from the south.

The second difference from the days of the fur trade was even more significant. Railway building, hydro development, logging and mining, unlike fur trading, involved the actual occupation, settlement and disruption of the land, forests, lakes and rivers which were the Indians' ancestral home. This, in the eyes of the Euro-Canadians, had been legally permitted by the Indians in the treaties they had signed with government representatives in earlier days.



The Treaties – A Story of Contention

The background, content, interpretation and observance of the treaties is a long, complex and contentious story.

The barest bones of the story are these. By their historic legal doctrine, the British explorers and settlers of North America considered that the Crown held title to the land, but recognized the Indians as possessing certain ongoing aboriginal rights to it. With the expansion of settlement it became important that these claims be legally resolved in such a way as to avoid serious impediments to the use of the land by the settlers.

Thus, the British government, and after 1867 the new Dominion government, signed a series of treaties with the Indians. These treaties gave absolute title to Indian bands under the wardship of the federal government to certain specified areas, the reserves. The treaties also guaranteed them the right to continue their traditional hunting, fishing and trapping activities on all other land not required for settlement, logging, mining and so forth, but extinguished all other Indian rights over the land.

This at least was the official view, based on European concepts of land and ownership and related rights. The Indian interpretations of the treaties, based on different concepts, have not been the same at all.

Some have argued that the terms of the treaties the Indians signed – but which they could not read – were not the terms to which they had agreed. Furthermore, the terms in the signed treaties have not always been rigorously observed by government.

In part, this last circumstance arose from the power to legislate for Indians assigned to the federal government by the British North America Act in 1867 and the vesting in the provinces of title to land and resources within their boundaries. Division of authority has meant that neither federal nor provincial government alone can ensure that treaty obligations are met.

There are three treaties in the north of Ontario. Treaty #3 and Treaty #5 cover areas in the north and southwest and were signed in 1873 and 1875 respectively. Treaty #9, which covers most of the land north of 50, was signed in 1905 with adhesions in 1929 and 1930.



A "Dismissed" People

The creation of the reserves under the treaties accelerated the end of a nomadic life for the Indian people. At the same time, depletion of game and fur-bearing animals and the decline of the fur trade gravely diminished the Indians' traditional means of subsistence. This was alleviated only marginally by wage-earning opportunities on the railway and in the woods and mines. The Indians were on the forgotten fringe of a society largely unconcerned about them and of an economy which did not need them. Poverty, demoralization, alcoholism and other social ills ensued.

Gradually, with the introduction of welfare, family allowances, and other forms of transfer payment and social assistance, the material lot of the Indians began to improve again, but at the price of almost total dependence. Thus, through no fault of their own, a whole generation is now accustomed to subsidization and is unfamiliar with self-reliance, either in the traditional Indian ways or in those of the Euro-Canadian wage-earner.





The North Today: Land and Economy

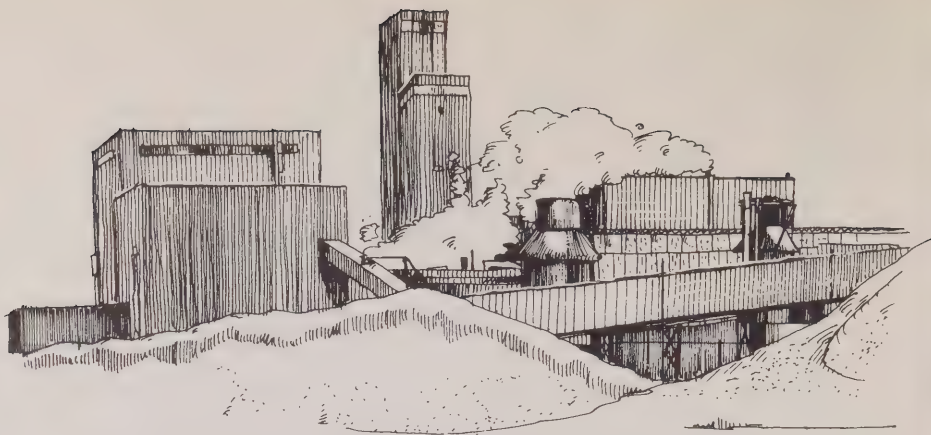
We turn now to a brief description of the north of today, as it has been shaped by geographical, historical, cultural and economic influences.

The division between the Shield and Lowlands regions remains as fundamental as ever. Most of the inhospitable Lowlands remains as it has been since the last Ice Age ended, with little trace of human activity other than a few small settlements at intervals of hundreds of miles along the coast.

Most of the Indian people in the north live in small, isolated communities widely scattered throughout the boreal forests of northwestern Ontario and dotted along the northern coastline and the major rivers of the Arctic watershed. Most other northerners live in larger communities situated just north of 50, their locations determined by access to the transcontinental railway, the harvesting of timber, the mining of minerals, and the tourists' interest in good fishing and hunting resources.

Overland transportation penetrates the Lowlands portion of the north only where the Ontario Northland Railway (ONR) carries the national rail network to the James Bay tidewater at Moosonee. Along the ONR there are a few small settlements north of the 50th parallel. Sixty miles south of Moosonee, the railway line crosses the lignite deposit at Onakawana¹, the possible site of a strip mine, and perhaps even a thermal-electric generating station.

¹Onakawana Development Limited has plans for a major lignite mine south of Moosonee, and a 21 year lease for the project was recently signed between the company and the Ontario Government. It has been designated for study under the Environmental Assessment Act.



By comparison, the Shield shows much more of the imprint of man, though it is still much lighter than in most of Ontario south of 50. The CN main line, forest-based industry and six active mines support several predominantly non-Indian communities in the southern part of the Shield. Nearly 1,500 people are employed in the mines and some 1,200 in logging and sawmills. The "Reed project",¹ as proposed, would extend logging much further into the north and would also involve the construction of a pulp mill-sawmill complex employing another 1,200 people.

The people and communities of the northern part of the region, beyond roads, mines and timber limits, are still largely Indian, although non-Indians usually hold such important positions as teacher, Ontario Provincial Police officer, and Hudson's Bay Company store manager.

Logging and mining still provide most of the industrial wage employment anywhere in the north.

A number of consequences flow from the nature of the north's economic base. It is highly vulnerable to market conditions. The world demand for pulp, wood, paper and minerals fluctuates considerably. While the wages paid benefit local people, profits do not. Such industries have limited lives as do the communities they create. Every mine is worked out sooner or later, while the forests are not being regenerated at the rate they are being cut. Industry in the north is to a greater or lesser extent environmentally disruptive and often excludes other land uses.

¹Reed Ltd. has signed a memorandum of understanding with the Government of Ontario relating to a proposed forestry complex in northwestern Ontario. This document, however, does not commit the company to proceed with this venture. The project has been designated under the Ontario Environmental Assessment Act and latest plans call for hearings by the Environmental Assessment Board starting in 1980. This would follow completion of a forest inventory by the Ministry of Natural Resources, an environmental assessment by the company, and review of the assessment by the Ministry of the Environment. Reed has reported substantial losses for its past operating year and the project may very well be abandoned. Nevertheless, even if the company does not proceed with its present plans, there will be mounting pressure to harvest the existing forest resource in response to the steadily declining availability of suitable timber in other areas of the province.



However, prospects for rapid growth either in the forest industry or in mining seem limited at present.

Reed Ltd. has indicated that economic conditions are not favourable for proceeding with its plans, which would have exploited most of the north's (and Ontario's) remaining supply of commercially usable stand of virgin timber. It was news of Reed Ltd.'s project proposal which sparked legislative debate. This, in turn, prompted the Ontario government to set up a Royal Commission with a broad-ranging mandate to assess the needs of the land and of the people north of 50.

As for minerals, although ore bodies unquestionably exist in the north, their remoteness and the growth of competition from other countries suggest that the expansion of mining in the north will not be rapid.

Wage employment is also provided by the service sector, notably tourism and outdoor recreation. There are over one hundred fishing and hunting camps in the north, mainly "fly-in". Most of these are in the southern portion of the Shield, but some are further north and others, for goose hunting, are located along the shores of Hudson and James Bays.

The north also contains several provincial parks, including Ontario's largest, Polar Bear Provincial Park.¹ On the face of it, outdoor recreation might appear fully compatible with the character of the north and the interests of its people, but in fact there are some serious conflicts, such as depletion of the fish and game upon which many Indian people depend, pollution of lakes, and the starting of forest fires.

Mercury pollution in the English-Wabigoon River System has virtually ruined the fishing and tourist industries along those rivers. As it affects the lives and livelihood of the native population, this pollution amounts to a people's tragedy.

The pollution has brought economic and social chaos to the reserves of Grassy Narrows and Whitedog.

¹Total acreage of Ontario's provincial parks is 10,416,219. Acreage of Polar Bear Provincial Park alone is 5,952,000.



Agriculture

As might be expected from what we said earlier about soil and climate, agriculture is virtually nonexistent north of 50, although there are places where crops such as potatoes have been grown in the past and other relatively small areas which may have some agricultural potential.

For Indian bands in the Kenora region, wild rice harvesting provides the main agricultural activity.

The harvesting of wild rice by the Ojibway Indians has been going on in northwestern Ontario, Minnesota and Wisconsin for centuries. It is still being carried out in the traditional manner, picking by hand from canoes.

In most areas of the north, a major exception being the Red Lake and Sioux Lookout regions, the harvesting is still largely an Indian endeavour, providing seasonal employment for hundreds of native people.

The Ontario government, on May 16, 1978, announced a policy on wild rice harvesting in response to the recommendation of the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment in its interim report of April, 1978, that wild rice be set aside for a period of five years to be developed as an economic base for the Indian people of northwestern Ontario. During this period, no new licences will be issued to non-Indians unless it can be demonstrated that the market potential can support the increased production without jeopardizing rice sales as a viable industry for the Indian people.

Power on a Mammoth Scale

Two power development projects would, if carried out, have much more extensive consequences than any of the activities we have described. Polar Gas now has an application before the National Energy Board to construct a pipeline to convey natural gas from the Arctic Islands which would pass through northern Ontario and link up with existing gas transmission lines near Geraldton. The timing of this project now appears unclear, due to the uncertainties of when the gas might be needed, of alternate delivery methods and of the massive financial requirements. Recently, there has been considerable speculation that this project will be delayed until well into the 1990's, although it is always difficult to make predictions in the rapidly shifting energy field.

The second scheme — or more accurately, series of schemes — involves various proposals for large-scale diversion southward of rivers now flowing to the north. While these would greatly enhance water supply and power generation, the effects of any such project on the north would be drastic. Reassuringly, at present there seems little likelihood that this scheme will be pursued, or even that more modest, though still large-scale, hydroelectric projects will be carried out in the north.

Development and Conservation

At this point we should deal more explicitly with a theme which has run through the foregoing discussion: that of economic exploitation—or development, if the gentler but less accurate word is preferred—versus environmental conservation.

A persistent conflict for many northern residents exists between development and conservation.

Some see the natural environment of the north as a rare surviving wilderness. It is, in some respects, unique. Parts of it are fragile and succumb easily to the effects generated by modern industry or large-scale settlement, or even to overuse by hunters or fishermen.

It is in other ways stern and hardy. To endure and survive, animals and vegetation seem tougher and more resilient than their counterparts to the south.

Some northerners believe that the environmental impact of resource extraction on the northern ecology is limited to extremely small areas. Large-scale timber cutting operations, however, inevitably do have wide-spreading effects. Mines, on the other hand, are more confined in their influence. Both have had economic and social impacts which have touched almost all northern people.

While nature is deeply important to the Indian people, both practically and spiritually, the environment in which they live is also extremely important to white northerners. Wrestling its resources from nature is a major source of the economic wellbeing of both groups. At the same time, the north's lakes and forests provide recreation, from which there are also substantial economic returns, and a lifestyle that northerners would not give up easily.

The tension between development and conservation need not be perceived as a choice between the extremes of raping the land and an end to all change.



An ideal solution would allow for retention and strengthening of the Indian's relationship with the natural environment, along with a cooperative view of the north's potential for producing economic benefits in which all northerners share.

Existent in present day Indian society is the desire to know and retain the values of the past in order to secure one's place in the scheme of the universe.

While only a handful of persons pursue an academic approach to Indian experience, native pride in one's "eternal" story, past, present and future, is a shared feeling amongst the majority of Indians.

But how can one measure the importance of the northern environment? How can its value be weighed against the economic benefits flowing from ore, pulp, pipelines and power? And above all, what rights do northerners have, or should they have, for determining how northern resources and the northern environment should be used, and for whose benefit?

Of course, the northern environment has different meanings for different northerners.

What are the legitimate rights and claims of the Indian people in particular?

This last question assumes special weight because of the marginal position of Indians relative to the wage economy. Some are employed by mining and logging companies, but these are few compared to the many unemployed Indians who either are not hired or do not seek out the employment opportunities that exist. Of course, there are difficulties in reconciling regular wage employment with traditional Indian seasonal activities such as hunting for food and harvesting wild rice. But surely many jobs in extractive industries could be designed around the traditional activities of the Indian people.

Hunting, harvesting, trapping and fishing are major components of the Indian economy and are dominantly or exclusively Indian activities in the north. Related to the seasons, they constitute only part of the pursuits of the native people. Theirs is a mixed economy. Indians play an important role in the commercial recreation sector,

with some hunting and fishing camps being Indian-owned and operated. Indians also own or work in a variety of other service industries.

Yet overall, the Indian people continue to be heavily dependent on direct financial assistance from government to supplement the very limited monetary income available to them and the food with which the land itself continues to supply them. Even with such assistance, the average family income in 1971 for reserves and other Indian communities in the north was little more than a quarter of the Ontario average.

The People and Their Communities

Indians constitute the majority of the population in the north. Current and projected birth rates and settlement patterns indicate that there is little likelihood that this will change in the foreseeable future. Of a total population of 30,000 for the north as a whole, 16,500 (60%) were registered "status Indians", recognized by the federal government as having treaty rights (1976 Census). In addition, there are an estimated 3,000 non-status Indians and Metis.

About 11,000 people, almost all Indian, live on reserves; that is to say, about one third of the entire population of the north. The birth rate of these people is appreciably above the provincial average. Another 8,000 people, both Indian and white, live in small settlements whose populations are tending to decline. The remainder, about 11,000 people, live in the six predominantly Euro-Canadian centres of Sioux Lookout, Red Lake, Ear Falls, Balmertown, Nakina and Pickle Lake and in the predominantly native community of Moosonee.

All but Moosonee are in the Shield and all depend on logging, mining or the railway for economic survival.

Sioux Lookout is the largest community north of 50. It has 3,100 residents. Like other northern communities, it makes do without the many amenities and luxuries that are taken for granted in the south. Services there, for obvious reasons of distance and isolation, cost more.

Sandy Lake is the biggest reserve with an on-reserve population of 1100.

This unique pattern of settlement is a notable characteristic of the north. Although the small population of the north is spread over a





vast area, almost everyone lives in some kind of settlement or “urban community” rather than in isolated dwellings. Without agriculture, there can be no equivalent to the south’s rural farm population.

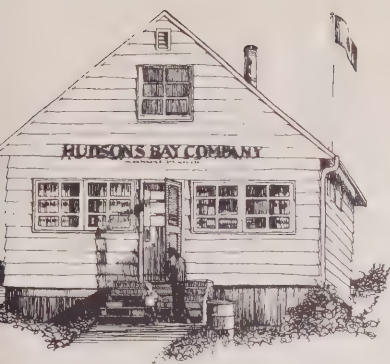
There are over 70 communities altogether, and they vary a good deal in size and nature. Some are large enough to be called towns. Others consist of only a handful of dwellings. Some are predominantly Euro-Canadian and were spawned by a single resource-based industry. Others are predominantly Indian, either on or off reserve, with little economic reason for existence.

All are small by provincial standards. Some are extremely isolated but all are far from large urban centres. None has a diversified economic base with the promise of permanence. To varying degrees, therefore, all share problems stemming from a lack of economic self-sufficiency and poverty (mainly the Indian communities), or economic insecurity (mainly the Euro-Canadian communities). All face difficulties imposed by costly or nonexistent services and must cope with limited and expensive commodities.

Transportation and Communication

The isolation of the typical community of the north has been alleviated to some extent since the Second World War by improvements in transportation and communications. Those communities in the southern part of the Shield and south of James Bay, including all the predominantly non-Indian communities, are now accessible by rail or road or both. The settlements along the coast are served by a federal government-operated barge service out of Moosonee.

Ten of the largest centres throughout the north are linked by scheduled air services. The rest, including most of the Indian communities, can be reached only by charter or private aircraft. A few have landing strips, but most must rely on aircraft equipped with floats in summer and skis in winter to land on lakes or rivers. These communities are virtually inaccessible during freeze-up and break-up.



Almost all the settlements of the north can now communicate with the outside world by radio-telephone. Their inhabitants can receive CBC radio broadcasts, although television is not yet generally available. However, CBC-TV service is currently being expanded to include most of the north.

Services and Amenities

Most northern communities make do without many of the services and amenities that are taken for granted in the south.

Only the larger centres have services such as sewerage and water, electricity, recreation, medical care and education. The smaller communities have some of these, but often rudimentary in form. In many Indian communities, electricity, running water and indoor toilets can be found only in the school, the teacher's residence and the band office.

The Hudson's Bay Company continues to play an important role in Indian communities, although less significantly than in the past. The company still has stores in many communities north of 50 and is the sole retail outlet in several of these.

There are six hospitals: Sioux Lookout has two, Red Lake, Fort Albany, Attawapiskat and Moose Factory have one each. These hospitals, along with associated services such as nurse practitioners and visiting doctors and dentists, serve as health centres for the entire north. Patients may be sent, if necessary, to hospitals further south, while more serious cases are sent to hospitals as distant as Winnipeg, Thunder Bay or Toronto.

In the Indian communities or reserves, medical services are the responsibility of the federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND). Depending upon the size of the population, they range from a single nurse's aide or community health worker to nursing stations or clinics. Some communities are served only by visiting nurses and doctors. Others rely on a combination of these arrangements, along with air transportation to northern hospitals.





Elementary education is reasonably available to most northern residents. Most communities have their own elementary school, from junior or senior kindergarten to Grade 8, or, in some cases, to Grade 10. The schools are either ordinary public schools, private (denominational) schools, or DIAND schools on Indian reserves. Education beyond the elementary level is harder to get in the north.

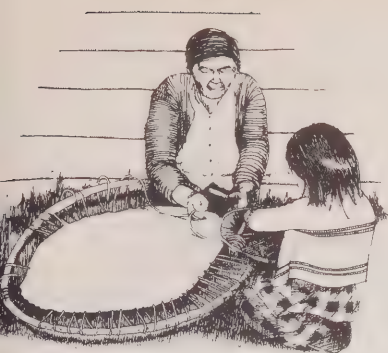
The north's high schools which go beyond Grade 10 are located at Red Lake, Sioux Lookout and Moosonee. Students who do not live in these centres must either commute long distances daily by bus or, with the help of a government living allowance, take temporary lodgings in a centre with a high school. Post-secondary education is not readily available in the north. A few night-school courses are offered at a few of the larger communities upon request through Lakehead University and Confederation College.

Local Government—How Practical?

Another unusual and curious feature of the north is the parallel existence of two independent sets of governmental authority and responsibility. Outside the reserves, provincial jurisdiction prevails as it does elsewhere in Ontario. Some 11,000 people — roughly the same number as live on reserves — live in seven incorporated municipalities. Elsewhere, in the unorganized communities, public services are mainly provided by the provincial government, although local special purpose bodies such as local roads boards and recreation commissions also have a role.

During the past decade, repeated attempts to create institutional arrangements that would provide a greater degree of self-government have come to nothing. The reasons are not entirely clear, but certainly the small population, limited financial resources, and great distances together constitute a formidable obstacle to the creation of a practical system of local government in the north.

Under the provisions of the British North America Act and the Indian Act, the Indian reserves fall under the responsibility of the federal government. In general, although there are exceptions, each reserve is occupied by a band of status Indians, and each band has an



elected council and chief. Under the provisions of the Indian Act, authority for certain matters may be delegated to the band council. However, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development generally retains the responsibility for many kinds of services such as health, education and housing, which outside the reserve are supplied by a local agency or by the province.

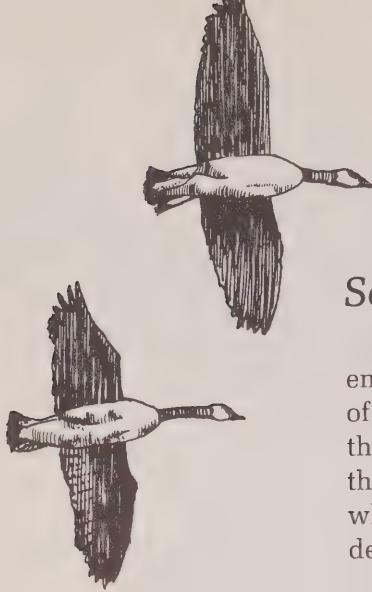
Such services may in fact be provided on behalf of DIAND by another federal department or, through agreement, by a provincial agency (the Ontario Provincial Police, for example, police many reserves). Since other government departments or ministries, both federal and provincial, have important responsibilities in the north (the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment Canada are examples), a remarkable proliferation of functionaries from two levels of government is in one way or another involved in the lives and welfare of approximately 30,000 people. The potential for jurisdictional conflict, and bureaucratic delay and confusions, is substantial.

Evolution of the Grand Councils

While the band council is the only Indian political entity that is afforded statutory recognition, the chiefs of the bands which adhere to Treaty #3 or Treaty #9 respectively constitute the Grand Councils of the two treaties. Although the Grand Councils were formed only during the last decade, they have achieved considerable stature and influence as representatives of the Indian community.

Recently, leaders of the treaty organizations and other chiefs have started to meet regularly with the responsible federal and provincial ministers, in a continuing attempt to resolve outstanding issues. Some observers see this as a manifestation of the self-confidence that has emerged from a growing awareness among the Indian people of their identity, history, traditions and ancestral beliefs. Others stress changing governmental attitudes and a recognition that self-reliance is likely the key to improving the lives of the Indian people.

Differences of opinion exist between leaders. Clearly, there is no more unanimity among the Indians of the north than there would be among any group of comparable size. Equally clear is the widespread determination that a new start should be made to define the relationship between them and the wider society.



Some Concluding Observations

The land, the forests, the tundra, the lakes and rivers, the physical environment of the north obviously have special value in themselves, of significance not only to the Indians and whites of the north but to the province and the nation. But apart from these natural attributes, the north contains resources (of mineral and timber, for example), which are assets that may well be needed and consequently developed in the years ahead.

At present, a quickening in the rate of resource development is unlikely, given the world economy and its demand for northern products. As a result, there is likely to be only moderate expansion in the north's present wage economy and in the wage-earning employment opportunities for northerners.

These Euro-Canadian communities of the north and those of the Indian people are tiny, isolated dots scattered over a vast landscape, either dependent on a single industry which is destined to close one day, or dependent on government cheques and whatever the land and water will provide. They are difficult and expensive to get to and from, far from all but the most basic of services, with high prices and a variety of inconveniences as part of everyday living. Yet despite all of this, these communities do provide a way of life which for many is satisfying and rewarding. This is a repeated declaration of people in the north.

Two-thirds of the people living north of 50 are Indians, descendants of nomadic tribes who had inhabited this area for unknown centuries before Europeans came to North America. Their beginnings, their origins are part of an historical puzzle, a challenge to world scholarship and to their own researchers. These Cree and Ojibway people look at their land and embrace it. They are inheritors of the past, guardians of the present and protectors of the future.

To a large extent, the Indians maintain a way of life based on their culture and their traditions which differentiate them from other northerners.

There are today some 3,000 Metis and non-status Indians living near or north of 50. Because of their Indian ancestry, they find that white society rejects them as equals. They do not share equitably in employment opportunities and wealth.

For the most part, the Metis and non-status Indians want development and a share in its benefits, but not at any cost. They, too, have a reliance upon the land. Many of them continue to hunt, trap



and fish, a life-style they share with the status Indian. The Metis and non-status Indians are often as unwelcome on the reserves as they are in white society. Unlike the status Indians, they do not even have broken treaty promises to support their cry for justice. The Metis and non-status Indians must not become the forgotten people in attempts to resolve the issues dividing the white and treaty Indian peoples of the north.

The Indians themselves, while generally isolated and poor, are seeking an acceptable relationship with Euro-Canadian society. They are striving to extricate themselves from dependence, to achieve social and economic health for their communities, and to have the option of following a unique way of life that sacrifices neither their cultural heritage nor all the benefits of the larger society.

The Legacy of Colonialism

Disparate though they may seem, the social aspects of Ontario north of 50 are in different ways the legacy of three centuries of treating the land coldly for gain, or as some would put it, of colonialism.

It would not be true to say that the interests of the north itself, and northerners, have never been considered. However, for the most part, they have been identified and promoted as they were perceived by missionaries, teachers and government officials from the south. Real northern interests have been a minor factor at best in influencing changes that have taken place.

It is this perception and treatment of the north that lies behind the ongoing polarized “exploitation-vs-preservation” view of the natural environment. Behind the current dependence of the northern wage economy on world markets lie the difficulties of small, scattered, economically fragile communities; and behind the isolation, demoralization and deprivation of the Indian people lies the question for all Canadians of our basic humanity.

The problems that have been created by the “exploitive” perception of the north cannot now be solved quickly or easily, even if this view were to vanish overnight. The continued existence of the “exploitive” view is seen as a root cause by some. They ask: “Who benefits from the trees cut down and the ore dug up north of 50? What decisions made in Moosonee or Big Trout Lake about the north compare in importance with those made in Ottawa, Toronto, London, New York or Brussels?”



Yet government has attempted to redress some imbalances caused by southern dominance. And the companies extracting northern resources can fairly claim that they are now more respectful of the human and natural environment than was once the case.

On the government side, there is evidence of some honest attempts to redefine policy objectives and to redirect programs in accordance with northern interests as these are perceived by politicians and civil servants. These attempts, however, seem to be hampered by the "blind men and the elephant" syndrome, by the preoccupation of each department with its own interests and responsibilities and with the particular aspect of the north to which these concerns lead. There is a need for initiatives either at the federal or the provincial level of government, in enlisting the people of the north to help establish goals for the north and to help reorient the efforts of the government accordingly. Perceived from the north, all too often, "outside" commercial or departmental interests seem to determine decisions.

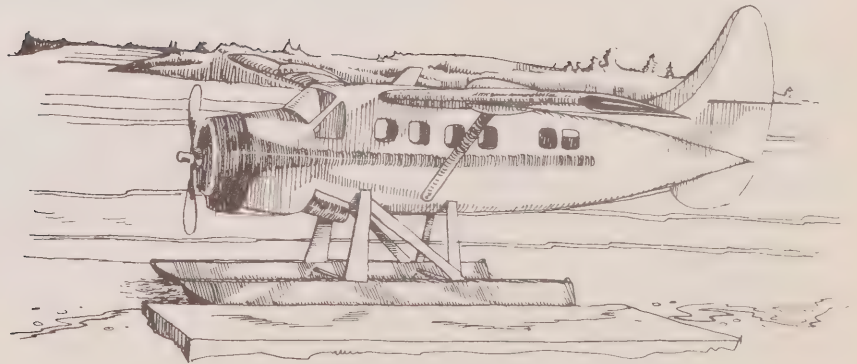
Examples of the anxieties of the people of the north can be drawn from the provincial level alone.

They point out that five years ago, an Ontario government task force made a number of recommendations concerning the proposal to exploit the Onakawana lignite deposit. In general these recommendations were intended to achieve two objectives: a) to protect the natural environment; and b) to ensure that the project would be carried out in such a way as to make the greatest possible contribution to the wellbeing of the people of the whole area. Since then, the Environmental Assessment Act has been passed, and its application to the project will probably achieve the first objective, northerners believe, but neither it nor any other existing legislation, they claim, is designed to achieve the second. As a consequence, concern for the wellbeing of the people may clearly be neglected. So goes prevailing opinion in the north.

In a rather similar fashion, the West Patricia Land Use Plan program will enlist public participation in setting land use priorities for most of the Shield, but only within the established framework of legislation, policy and departmental responsibility. Native people fear that their interests and concerns will not be served within that framework.

It is true that the Ontario government's regional strategies for northern Ontario are intended to coordinate all provincial government programs towards the achievement of regional objectives, but these are prepared with little participation by the public at large — effectively, none at all by Indians — and their orientation is clearly “southern”. On the economic side they seem to reflect a conventional preoccupation with employment and income generation, mainly south of 50, and little awareness of the possible alternatives for the north that may lie in small-scale industry and “appropriate technology”.

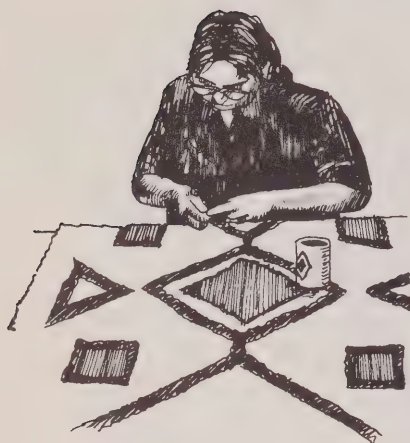
But there is evidence of change. On the basis of presently expressed concern, neither government nor industry any longer perceives the north exclusively in terms of “a storehouse of riches”. Indeed the very existence of this Royal Commission is evidence of an awareness of the people north of 50 of their own place on the land.



APPENDIX A

North of 50 Fact Sheet

AREA: 214,000 square miles (554,400 km²)



POPULATION: (approx. 1976)

Registered status Indians:	16,500
Non-status and Metis:	<u>3,000-3,500</u>
Total native population	19,500-20,000
Non-native population	10,000
Total population	30,000
Total population of Ontario	8,441,000

DENSITY:

0.13 persons per square mile (one person for every 7 square miles)

POPULATION GROWTH RATE: Average Annual (1971-76)

All Ontario:	1.4%
North of 50:	1.3%
All Ontario status Indians:	2.0%
Indians north of 50:	2.8%

Estimated population north of 50 for year 2001: 39,000

SETTLEMENTS:

- 70-75 settlements north of 50
- 35 of these are native
- settlements range in population from 3,106 (Sioux Lookout) to 2 (Superior Junction).

Municipalities	Sioux Lookout	3,106
	Red Lake	2,290
	Balmertown	2,047
	Ear Falls	1,963
	Moosonee	1,231
	Pickle Lake	713
	Nakina	680

Native settlements:

- 35 native settlements
- approximately 80% (13,000 of 16,500) of registered status Indians live on Indian reserves or in Indian settlements (Crown land)

AVERAGE FAMILY INCOME: (1971)

		% of Ontario
Ontario:	\$10,661	
Ontario north of 50:	7,064	66%
Indian reserves and settlements north of 50:	3,034	28%

SERVICES:

- Health*
 - 6 hospitals
 - 8 federal nursing stations
- Education*
 - most communities have an elementary school (kindergarten to grades 8 or 10)
 - three high schools north of 50 (up to Grade 13 when enrollment is sufficient) — located at Red Lake, Sioux Lookout, Moosonee.
- Transportation*
 - all non-native communities accessible by road or rail
 - 27 of 35 (75%) native communities are accessible only by air
 - there are 17 air strips north of 50 (by end of 1978).

INDUSTRY:

- Mining*
 - jobs (1976): 1454
 - operating mines: 6
 - minerals being mined: gold, silver, iron, copper, zinc.
- Logging*
 - jobs (logging and sawmills—1976): approx. 1,200
 - output: approx. 11% of provincial annual cut
 - destination: mainly south of 50 to pulp and paper mills
 - 1 large sawmill at Hudson.
- Commercial Fishing*
 - output (1975): 1.25 million pounds
 - value: \$370,000 (3.3% of prov. total)
- Trapping*
 - value (1977): \$1.4 million (6.6% of provincial total)

PROJECTS:

- Onakawana*
 - proponent: Onakawana Development Ltd., wholly owned subsidiary of Manalta Coal Ltd. of Calgary
 - proposal: strip mine the 190 million ton Onakawana lignite deposit. Produce electricity in a 1000 megawatt on-site thermal generating station or briquette the coal for use elsewhere.
 - location: 60 miles south of Moosonee beside the Ontario Northland Railway line. The proponent has signed a 21 year mining lease which is subject to the project meeting the conditions set out in the Environmental Assessment Act (1975).

- jobs: construction period (3-6 years) — 300 for mine
2000 for power project
operational period — 200 for mine
150 for generating plant

- costs: \$100 million to develop mine
\$1 billion to build power plant

Reed

- proponent: Reed Ltd., a wholly owned subsidiary of Reed Paper Ltd., controlled by Reed International Ltd. of England
- proposal: integrated kraft pulp mill (1,200 tons of pulp per day) and saw mill (180 million board feet per annum) in the Ear Falls — Red Lake area. Reed has stated that present economic conditions render the outcome of the project uncertain. The project is subject to the Environmental Assessment Act (1975).
- cost: \$400 million for mill
- jobs: 1,200 in mill
- forest resources: 18,983 square miles of forest being inventoried by Ministry of Natural Resources.

Polar Gas

- proponent: Polar Gas Limited
- proposal: natural gas pipeline from Melville Island in the eastern Arctic to just east of Longlac, Ontario portion: 437 miles. The project is subject to an environmental review by the federal government.



APPENDIX B

Mr. Justice E. P. Hartt
Recommendations and Proposals for Action
*Interim Report of the
Royal Commission on the Northern Environment
April 4, 1978*

- (1) Onakawana Development Limited and the Ministry of the Environment should take immediate steps to discuss fully and openly the planned environmental assessment of the proposed lignite mine south of Moosonee with local and affected groups and that the company undertake to meet their concerns in its assessment.
- (2) A complete review and assessment of the West Patricia Planning process, in relation to other relevant programs of the Ontario government, and with special emphasis on the "Reed tract", should be carried out by the Commission, with the proposals of the Ministry of Natural Resources being considered as the focal point of the review.
- (3) A task force of northern residents should be appointed to investigate and recommend ways for the people of the north to become effectively involved in the making of decisions by government ministries and agencies that affect their lives and communities.
- (4) A committee should be formed, composed of ministerial-level representatives of the federal and Ontario governments and representatives of the Indian people. The committee would attempt to resolve, through negotiation, issues raised by its members, and in particular would address questions of devolution of authority to govern local affairs and access to resources for the Indian people. A small secretariat, acceptable to all parties, should be established to support the committee.
- (5) As its first priority, the committee should address the plight of the Indian communities of Whitedog and Grassy Narrows. Methods to ensure access to resources and viable community economies, along with related supportive programs should be considered jointly by the committee and the communities. To facilitate this, a mutually acceptable fact finder should be appointed to review and report on available information and options within 90 days.
- (6) The government of Ontario should not implement any new policy on wild rice which would weaken the Indians' position in this industry in the north. During the next five years, the Indians should be given the opportunity to develop a viable wild rice industry on their own. To foster this, no new licences to harvest rice should be granted to non-Indians during this period. The government should provide assistance, for example, by examining the influence of water control structures on the productivity of the harvests, by appropriate research into improved growing and harvesting methods, and by necessary training programs.

APPENDIX C

Statement by The Honourable William G. Davis, Premier of Ontario, to the legislature, Tuesday, May 16, 1978, Re: The Hartt Commission

I would like to report to the House on some conclusions reached by the Government as a result of the Interim Report and Recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment.

The Ministries involved with this document have now had the opportunity to talk with Mr. Justice Hartt to clarify details of his recommendations. In addition, I have met with Mr. Justice Hartt to discuss the implications of certain recommendations and the direction and role he foresees for the Commission in the future. We have also had the benefit of direct communications with representatives of Treaty #3 and Treaty #9 Indians in which they express strong support for the work of Mr. Justice Patrick Hartt and the recommendations in his report.

As a result of these activities and with a view to moving forward with the Commission's studies of that part of the Province lying north of the 50th parallel, it is timely to indicate our commitment to specific recommendations and the overall goals of the Commission.

It is the Government's view that this study can play an important role in the creative development of the north, consistent with the goals and ambitions of the people of Northern Ontario and with the need to strike an appropriate balance between environmental concerns and a pattern of economic development of benefit to the entire province. A central theme of the Report is the necessity of addressing the disadvantaged position of native people.

Thus, the Government has no difficulty in supporting Mr. Justice Hartt's outline of the tasks he sees the Commission dealing with in the next stage of this study, which will sharpen the focus of the Commission's future activities.

First, is the review and assessment of the West Patricia Planning process by the Commission, with the Ministry of Natural Resources' proposals as the focal point of the review.

Second, is the Commission's input into the environmental assessment process surrounding the development of lignite deposits by Onakawana Development Ltd.

Third, I support the concept that northern residents should be more directly involved in the decision-making process of government. Whether this can best be achieved by a task force or by other mechanisms is a topic which the Commission might wish to pursue further.

Now I would like to deal with those recommendations which relate to the future of northern Indian communities. The Government would like to reaffirm its commitment to the recommendations by the Commission for a tripartite process to be directed by a Committee composed of ministerial level representatives of the federal and provincial governments and representatives of the Chiefs of Ontario. As I noted in my previous statement, this process is underway and a Tripartite Council has already been set up.

With Mr. Justice Hartt we see the need, through this mechanism, to explore, on a broad scale, matters of concern to Indians, including the development of economic self-reliance and self-government in local matters.

The Government considers it of paramount importance that the three parties to this Tripartite Council give urgent attention to the necessity of determining such basic matters as jurisdiction and delivery of service. A tripartite working group is being set up to deal with these matters.

We believe that without closer collaboration, clarification of roles and responsibilities, and reduction of inter-agency and intergovernmental duplication and conflict, no ultimate solution to the problems of native peoples is likely to develop.

In recent discussions with Mr. Justice Hartt he has advised that in the resolution of some issues the tripartite process could be strengthened by the appointment of independent chairmen acceptable to all parties. These chairmen would be directed to mediate issues referred by the parties and to report to the Tripartite Ministerial Council. We welcome and accept this elaboration of the original recommendation.

We accept Mr. Justice Hartt's recommendation that the special problems of Whitedog and Grassy Narrows should be addressed by a task force working within the tripartite process. Last week the Chiefs of these Reserves presented their views and proposal to initiate this process at a meeting with senior government representatives.

Ontario will lend full support to this effort to implement social and economic development to rehabilitate these Indian communities. We agree to the appointment of an independent chairman for this particular task. In addition, factfinders have been appointed by the Bands. We understand that this recommendation has the full support of the Chiefs of Ontario. Indicative of Ontario's willingness to assist in this area is the recently announced program to provide additional employment opportunities to residents of these two communities, access to mechanical wild rice harvesting equipment, and production of plant food from a commercial fishing operation.

Careful consideration has been given to the recommendation that wild rice be set aside for a period of five years for the development of an economic base for the Indian people in northwestern Ontario. During this period no new licences would be issued to non-Indians.

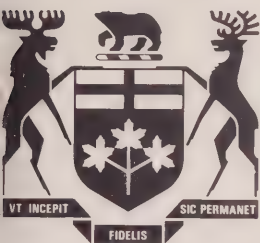
Mr. Justice Hartt has explained that his recommendation is based on the premise that present markets are limited and future markets are uncertain. He believes that any expansion of wild rice production by non-Indian producers could jeopardize the Indians' chance of success in developing wild rice as a viable industry. These premises require future testing.

In considering this recommendation we are aware of the concerns of non-Indians, non-Status Indians and Metis who have strongly indicated their wish to have greater access to wild rice harvesting areas.

Ontario has already agreed to deal with this complex and sensitive issue through the tripartite process and the Tripartite Working Group on wild rice is now being established. In order to support this approach and in the interest of arriving as quickly as possible at solutions satisfactory to all parties, Ontario puts forward the following five year program:

1. In accordance with current policy only Indian Bands will be licenced to harvest Wild Rice in the Kenora and Dryden district for the coming 1978 season.
2. Outside the Kenora and Dryden district all 1977 licences will be renewed for 1978 and annually thereafter.
3. Effective immediately Ontario will extend its efforts to assist Indian licencees to develop appropriate technology and to increase utilization of the available crop with the primary objective of establishing an economic base for the involved Indian communities.
4. The Tripartite Working Group on Wild Rice should give the highest priority to the determination of current and future markets for Ontario wild rice. A first report should be made no later than January of 1979.
5. No additional licences will be issued to non-Indians during the next five years unless it can be demonstrated to the Tripartite Working Group that market potential for Ontario wild rice is sufficient to support an increased share of production by non-Indians without jeopardizing our efforts to establish wild rice production as a viable economic base for the Indian people.
6. In keeping with the spirit of the Hartt Commission that all northerners should be involved in the determination of northern issues, we propose the Tripartite Working Group on Wild Rice be expanded to include representation of the Ontario Wild Rice Producers Association and the Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association.

ISSUES



A Background Paper
on Behalf of
The Royal Commission
on the Northern
Environment.

Chapter

2

North of 50—Its Industry and Commerce

	Page
How Best to Use the Resources We Have	43
The Northern Economy	
Expansion Within Limits	47
Development Philosophies	
What Allowance for the Future?	53
Forestry	
A Major Industry and Concern	61
Mining	
Wealth and Disturbance	73
Tourism	
A Saleable Wilderness Experience	81

The bracketed notations following the quotations identify the individual or organization making the presentation before the Commission, site of the preliminary hearing, and the page number in the transcript where the quotation may be found.

Chapter 2

NORTH OF 50—ITS INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

The north is often thought of as a storehouse of wealth supporting the economy of the province. Although northern resource industries, such as forestry, mining and tourism, are clearly major components of the provincial economy, the myth of limitless resources must be set to rest. The forests of Ontario, for example, are rapidly being depleted and regeneration has not kept pace. As a consequence, timber cutting has moved steadily northwards. Already, about 11% of the annual timber harvest is cut north of 50. In many places, however, the north is not suitable for tree growth due to poor soils and extreme climate. It is only in the West Patricia area of the northwest that major renewable timber resources remain. Even these resources are likely to be needed to supply the demands of existing mills, rather than to feed an expanding industry, and it will only be through vigorous steps to improve forest management that long-term shortages will be averted.

— Mr. Justice E. P. Hartt

How Best To Use The Resources We Have

THE POPULAR PERCEPTION of the north is largely accurate. It is as a vast, largely unexplored land, a virtual storehouse of natural resources. What is not generally recognized is that these resources do have a finite character. *They are not limitless.*

The people of the north are well aware that the resources of their region are valuable. These resources include ore bodies from gold to lignite, forests of seemingly endless stands of spruce, and hundreds of sparkling lakes abounding in fish. Northerners are also aware that these resources are being depleted and that the people of the north will be victims, not beneficiaries, of the process, unless policies with the best interests of northerners in mind are put into place.

The economy of the north is precariously poised at present on this wealth of natural resources. For better or worse, the boom towns of the past owed their existence to the exploitation of these resources. Northerners see it as ominous that their economy is based on the extraction of resources which generally are intended for use in the south and elsewhere. This base of primary industry responds directly to external factors which dictate the rhythm of its economy.

To judge by their presentations to the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment, concerned northerners are indeed preoccupied with how best to use the resources they have. When it comes to any one approach, however, they do not all agree. Many contradictory voices were heard at hearings of the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment. Even a general consensus would have been unlikely at the hearings given the vastness and diversity of the north.

Over the months of meeting with people throughout the north, common themes did appear in submissions before the Commission. A nagging concern shared by all was the dilemma of whether the north, in its own best interest, should yield, share or deny its resources in response to world demand.

There were those who expressed resentment against development. Their feeling stemmed from a long history of exploitation of the north by outsiders. These northerners claimed that they have been surrendering their resources to world markets at an ever-increasing rate over the years. In the accelerating process, they say, corporations based far away, have enriched themselves without sharing much of their gain with northerners.

That the north deserves greater benefits and fewer disadvantages than it has experienced in the past is a point of easy agreement between northerners.

In the past, company towns closed as soon as a resource was depleted or world markets collapsed or were in recession. That has been the northern experience. Environmental degradation takes place during a boom and social collapse during a bust. Many northerners believe this constitutes too high a price for “end-in-sight” employment and short-lived commercial prosperity. Other northerners told the Commission that they were less perturbed by terminal employment or prosperity provided a company town had a fairly long life, say 30 years or so.

Consensus and consent advocated

The Commission was told that things are changing in the north. There is growing concern that the region have an increased say in the exploitive approach to its resources. Opponents of large-scale resource extraction warned against destroying the native peoples' life-sustaining environments. Some decried consumer waste and abuse of the earth's resources, especially energy.

Also put forward was a case for economic self-sufficiency for the north. In the view of its advocates, self-sufficiency was a route much to be preferred. The self-sufficiency argument called for more of everything to be produced locally. This attitude was reinforced by declarations that the north suffers in every way — environmentally, socially and economically — when it yields to the seemingly insatiable appetite of the south for more and more raw resource consumption.

The Commission faced strong arguments from opposite points of view. On how best to use the resources of the north, the side of go slow, bargain hard, conserve the environment found support through many voices. Others were for development now, making resources work for people, building better communities, and encouraging large-scale enterprises.

In rebuttal to the stop or slowdown advocates were the representatives of modern industry in the north. In their presentations to the Commission, they took the opposite view to those arguing for a self-sufficient northern economy. They received strong support from northerners associated with commerce and business. The latter sided with financial growth and saw new and expanding industries as benefactors. Without commerce, they maintained, the north would be even more sparsely populated than it is today, with even fewer amenities and professional services. As for the native people, they would be even more deprived of the benefits of contemporary scientific and medical achievements.

In the view of its supporters, industrial development has brought amenities to the north, such as improved health facilities, communications, transportation, housing, recreation, education and commerce. Without the substantial development of the past, the northern communities as we now know them would not exist, and this, in the eyes of growth advocates, would be regrettable.

Defenders of development, like all the others, did express their private anguish over the phenomenon of bust in local economies which has, in their experience, faithfully followed the euphoria of boom. Nevertheless, they maintained that new industrial developments and fresh financial investments can provide a boost to the northern economy.

Northerners who were wage earners stood up for their industrial employers. Forest industry employees called for government policies which would ensure that adequate growing stock would always be available. Mining personnel hoped that government regulations would not exacerbate the economic pinch on an industry already suffering the loss of world markets. Tourist operators were anxious to preserve qualities in nature which would attract the hunter and fisherman — qualities often threatened by the advent of mining and forest enterprises.

Contradictory claims on land use

As a consequence of its hearings, the Commission became aware of an overriding concern: how best to resolve contradictory claims on land use by primary industries, tourism boosters and wilderness advocates.

Mining, forestry and tourism—each of these three major industries, through their representatives, saw its use of land as important. In order to protect the region's basic interest, they argued that other land uses be deemed secondary. Lobbying over land use priorities in the north was described to the Commission as constant, chronic and continuing.

In one form or another a variety of speakers raised this moot question: can land serve a variety of uses simultaneously? Some insisted that exclusive single use situations, on the other hand, only reinforce dependency on single industries and thus hinder the much needed diversification of the economy in the north.

Some supporters of economic diversification made a case for a planned mix of industries — primary together with secondary industry. They argued that dollar wealth resulting from one endeavour should be recirculated through another, ending up in those consumer products which are created for use locally in the north. Many believed an economic stability could evolve if communities were no longer totally reliant on a single resource extraction industry and on its finite life span.

The message of most speakers addressing the Royal Commission was clear. Northerners are no longer willing to take a back seat in decision-making affecting their lives. Northerners wish to be consulted in future regarding development proposals for their areas and wish to know in advance in which direction their northern economy is being pointed.



The Northern Economy – Expansion Within Limits

Common to many issues raised at the hearings of the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment was the residents' concern for the northern economy: whether the north should continue to sell its resources to the south with little thought for the future; whether large-scale development should be allowed under any circumstances; whether controls should be put into place to ensure a stable economy; whether traditional native pursuits should be encouraged or passively allowed to give way to "progress".

Did the North Make the South Rich?

To judge by the tenor of the submissions to the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment, some northerners believe that downtown Toronto provides an example of the benefits derived from the economy of northern Ontario. Such grand old buildings as the Toronto Stock Exchange and the original Globe and Mail (with their classic gargoyles and granite lions) are cited as symbolizing an era of northern exploitation. They claim it was gold from the Red Lake gold mines, timber from Kenora and silver from Cobalt among other developments which helped build these edifices, the head offices of Canada's corporate decision-makers.

Such observations are expressed as matters of actual fact, usually without cynicism or bitterness. Southern Ontario skyscrapers are regarded as products of the exploration ventures and vision which "developed" northern Ontario. This is often the view of company personnel in the north. Other northerners, however, see the wealth of their area glorified in the south, but argue that they and the north are demeaned in the process.

In the minds of most people in southern Ontario, the northern half of this province is a vast hinterland region of unlimited treasure, an area openly inviting entrepreneurs to explore, develop and exploit natural resources for shareholder profit, with neither a thought for the future of the area nor for the long-term needs of the people who live there.

Several northerners emphasized a familiar point. Essentially, it was that just as the Canadian economy is now dependent upon other countries for direction and growth, so too the hinterland regions of Canada became dependent upon financial directions emanating from southern Ontario. Many believe that to serve the industrialized golden horseshoe along Lake Ontario, for example, a sustained impetus will be given to the extraction of the natural resources of northern Ontario for processing, refining and marketing in the south.

Ontario north of 50 will no longer view with equanimity the boom and bust phenomenon of development in its own area. That was the position of most speakers. The call was for long-term planning, economic stability and achievement of adequate environmental safeguards.

Indians, Metis and other northerners made a strong impact on the Commission when they eloquently explained that their conventional ways of living off the land were an integral part of the northern economy. Trapping, fishing and hunting are affected detrimentally by large-scale developments, and many wanted the traditional ways of earning a living sustained and encouraged and all options considered in diversifying the economy and developing secondary industry.

The economic message for Mr. Justice E. P. Hartt and the Royal Commission was that a new direction for the north was needed, one reflecting the vision of northerners themselves and encompassing their hopes for a prosperous future in their own region.



The Northern Economy—A Study in Fragility

In almost all the submissions made to the Commission there was reference to perceived problems with the economy of the north. Whether speakers discussed social discord, environmental degradation or development philosophy, at issue was their experience with, and attitude to, the northern economy.

Northerners do not feel that they control their economy. They feel that the north, because it is a hinterland, is considered important only for meeting the natural resource needs of the urbanized south. The north's present economic status gives rise to a fragile economy, extremely vulnerable to Canadian and world market influences. Knowing that major decisions are usually made on the outside, northerners feel they are not receiving their fair share of the regions's resource wealth.

"A Treaty #9 chief told the Commission that northern developments are always for the benefits of the dominant society living in the south ... and the resources, whether it be trees or minerals, are taken from the north for the south."

(Winisk Band, Moose Factory, p. 3255)

For this reason, some speakers characterized the north as being a resource hinterland and a "colony" of southern Ontario. Roger Suffling, of the University of Waterloo, explained that while the wealth that is extracted from the north could be used to advance and diversify the northern economy this has traditionally not been the case:

"Unfortunately the resource hinterland is often stripped of its wealth without provision for the future and without reference to the needs of its inhabitants. It exists only to feed development in advanced and industrialized areas."

(School of Urban & Regional Planning, University of Waterloo, Toronto, p. 1960)

A York University professor, Graham Beakhurst, further explained that:

"The extraction of economic surplus from the Canadian hinterland is a hallowed tradition from the first days of exploration. The removal of this surplus leads directly to dependency and a deepening dependency as those living on the frontier are dispossessed of their traditional lands, livelihoods and lifestyles, and encouraged, if not obliged, to participate in and orient themselves to the life of a high-intensity, high-consumption market society."

(President's Advisory Committee on Northern Studies, York University, Toronto, p. 2132)

Various explanations for the evolution of this hinterland relationship were offered. The Ontario Federation of Labour felt that it was because decisions are made elsewhere, on the basis of profit rather than local benefit:

"Why has this kind of (hinterland) 'development', which we would prefer to call exploitation, been allowed to continue? We would venture two major reasons: because it is profitable for the industries involved who merely extract the resources for processing elsewhere, and who have needed to show little responsibility to the well-being of the people employed in the process, the municipality, native communities, the resources themselves and the environment; secondly, because the decisions that have been made, were made by governments outside the north, and industries, the majority of which are American or foreign-owned, who know little and care less about the north."

(Ontario Federation of Labour, Kenora, p. 2658)

The Red Lake Businessmen's Association suggested that proportionate political representation of the north in the provincial legislature had not helped matters:

"This area must live with the reality that it is an isolated and very sparsely populated region. Simultaneously with that reality we live in a political system that is a democracy based on representation by population. These two obvious facts combine to result in a situation whereby we are the governed and those who govern us are, with a few exceptions, located in and around Toronto."

(Red Lake Businessmen's Association, Red Lake, p. 688)

Alan Pope, MPP for Cochrane South, argued that:

"We have a system in northern Ontario. Industries locating here send raw products to the south where they find it cheaper to construct manufacturing plants, research centres and even headquarters in Toronto, rather than in northern Ontario. They find it easier to get access to water and hydro in southern Ontario than in northern Ontario. As long as these factors exist, we are going to be left in northern Ontario with a completely ad hoc development policy."

(Alan Pope, MPP, Timmins, p. 2359)

It is this overriding concern with maximum profits which the native people find so disturbing about the present pattern of economic development in the north. According to Treaty #3:

"This need to dominate is clearly evident in the white man's economic system. In order to maximize his relationship to his environment, the white man frequently exploits the environment to its maximum limits. The Ojibway, however, sees himself as part of the order of nature ... Allow me to give an example. Indian medical experts will extract a medicinal herb from the earth but not before sacred tobacco is placed wherefrom the herb is removed. The Indian medical expert only takes as much herb as he needs to cure the ailment — no more. If the Euro-Canadian happens upon this herb as a remedy, he will exploit it for mass consumption and will conduct experiments to see if the herb's curative powers cannot be duplicated synthetically for economic reasons. The white man's chief concern quickly becomes the marketability of the herb for economic profit. The Indian approach meets their immediate needs: the Euro-Canadian approach meets their profit and cumulative requirements. The Indian way is conservation: the white way is exploitive."

(Treaty #3, Kenora, p. 2855)

While what has passed for economic development in the north has been primarily concerned with the extraction of resources and profits which end up elsewhere, the native economy is characterized by the efforts of individuals and family groups to meet the needs of the immediate community. Trapping, hunting, fishing and wild rice harvesting are practised on a seasonal basis. These activities provide supplementary cash income, as well as food for consumption.

To native people, and some non-native northerners, the term "employment" does not only refer merely to jobs for which wages are paid, because, for the most part, they take their livelihood directly from the land. People combine this livelihood with earnings from seasonal wage labour, such as logging or mining, or with federal transfer payments. This seasonal employment pattern, which combines traditional pursuits with wage income activities, is characteristic of the northern economy and offers some independence from employment on large-scale developments.

Traditional pursuits (such as, trapping, hunting, fishing) are still widely practised north of 50 despite encroaching development projects. As the Ontario Trappers Association stated:

"Northern Ontario produced approximately 14% of Ontario's overall harvest for a total estimated value of \$1,471,118 ... We must not overlook the fact of the

consumption of the meat of these animals. A recent survey conducted by the Ministry of Natural Resources showed that the replacement value of meat eaten by the trapper from the species of beaver, lynx and muskrat amounted to 2.5 million dollars per year."

(Ontario Trappers Association, Timmins, p. 1215)

Trapping is an essential element of the native economy and illustrates the economic importance of these traditional pursuits. The Chief of North Caribou Lake described his people's trapping activities:

"Not only do they trap for the fur that they can get, they also kill certain animals for food. The beaver, the lynx and the muskrat provide meat that is good for eating. Fur-bearing animals that the native people depend on are beaver, otter, fisher, muskrat, mink, lynx, marten, wolf, weasels and squirrels. Our people are part of these animals because these animals provide for them ... All throughout the north native people still depend on trapping ... In a five year span the total amount of \$479,580.08 was made by the factories of Bearskin Lake, Sachigo Lake, Weagamow Lake and Muskrat Dam."

(North Caribou Lake Band, Osnaburgh, p. 1837)

However, traditional activities are threatened by the large-scale economic activities of Euro-Canadians:

"We feel that the white man should consider the trapping in the trapping areas that belong to our people when they are making massive plans to start resource development in the region. We try to preserve our wildlife because we know that God created the animals for a purpose. He did not create them for us to destroy them needlessly. We should try to preserve these animals because they serve a purpose to us. We should use them the right way."

(North Caribou Lake Band, Osnaburgh, p. 1838)

The north's economy was not always based on large-scale resource extraction industries, and as this trend has increased, traditional activities have suffered. The New Democratic Party pointed out that:

"Large-scale development often precludes other necessary and viable social or economic activities. For example, a large-scale logging project could preclude fur trapping."

(New Democratic Party, Timmins, p. 988)

Besides disturbing the potential for carrying on traditional pursuits, a chief characteristic of large-scale development is its boom and bust nature. The result is an instability which has serious implications for the northern economy. The town of Kenora pointed out that each of the northern communities:

"...feels the impact of economic highs and lows which are so prevalent in single resource-based industries so common to northwestern Ontario."

(Town of Kenora, Kenora, p. 2503)

Not only are there relative lows in economic activity, but this activity can quickly cease altogether. The Ontario Federation of Labour told the Commission of:

"...company towns which can die as quickly as they were once set up... when a company is closed."

(Ontario Federation of Labour, Kenora, p. 2658)

And the Unorganized Communities Association of Northern Ontario-East pointed out that:

"There are some 80 communities in northeastern Ontario alone, known as the unorganized communities... most [of which] are residuals of resource-based towns who used to depend on an industry that has since disappeared."

(Unorganized Communities Association of Northern Ontario-East, Timmins, p. 909)

Much of the problem lies in the fact that so many of these single resource industry towns are dependent on a non-renewable resource, as in the case of mining towns. The New Democratic Party stressed this:

"...single resource communities are vulnerable to the erosion of their economic base as their resources dwindle. The eventual depletion of the resource is inevitable in the case of non-renewable resources. The day a mine opens, no matter how long that we project that it will last, is in fact the first day in the death of a community built to support that mine."

(New Democratic Party, Timmins, p. 984)

Non-renewable resources are not the only resources that can be depleted. Much discussion centered around the forest industry and present forest management practices which are not regenerating cut over areas satisfactorily. Arnold Peters, MP for Timiskaming, spoke of Latchford and other lumbering towns where:

"Today, the trees are gone, and so are the mills, but not the towns. The people remain with no resource... The end of northern resource towns is inevitable because we do not use the resource to finance the future."

(Arnold Peters, MP, Moosonee, p. 3115)

The Northwestern Ontario Municipal Association urged that:

"Government policies with respect to the utilization of natural resources north of the 50th parallel should be directed in such a way as to reinforce the general economy of the area and, at the same time, contribute to the stability of all of northwestern Ontario."

(Northwestern Ontario Municipal Association, Kenora, p. 2520)

In addition to resource depletion, northern economic activity is largely influenced by external conditions beyond the control of northerners. The north, with its great dependence on primary resource extraction, is vulnerable to the wide fluctuations of world resource marketing. The demand for the north's resources is affected by economic conditions in the south and elsewhere, and if that decreases, so also does a significant source of livelihood for many northerners. Talking to a hypothetical developer, an Ear Falls resident said:

"You come to us with expertise, employment, money and opportunity, but there lingers within us a fear that after having started to enjoy the benefits of your presence here that perhaps in the future as inventories build up and demand slacks off however temporarily, we will be faced with a phase-out or withdrawal. Just as we start our families and get into the obligations of our mortgages, all too often in the past we have found ourselves high and dry by corporate withdrawal."

(Harrison Maynard, Ear Falls, p. 822)

It is not only the major industrial activities of mining and logging which are affected by external conditions and controls. For example, the Commission was told by the Publicity Board of Kenora that tourism:

"...remains the most vulnerable and fragile of industries in the region. Everything from the pricing of food, fuel and accommodation, to the threat of Quebec separating from Canada, to presidential elections in the United States have had dramatic effects on the local tourism industry."

(Publicity Board of Kenora, Kenora, p. 2931)

Stuart Harvey, formerly the minister at Sandy Lake, told the Commission that:

"The bulk of the service industry in this area is not in the control of the native people who use it... All too often local initiatives that do emerge, are met with a barrage of red tape and bureaucracy which serves only to discourage those trying to gain control of their own lives."

(Stuart Harvey, Kenora, p. 2743)

Again and again this frustration over the lack of control of the northern economy by northerners, both native and non-native, was expressed to the Commission.

Chief Ben Quill of Pikangikum stressed that:

"The fish, the wild rice, the forest are not just dollars to us. They are our food, our shelter, our heat, our clothing... We want to plan (the) quotas on fish and wild rice and fur-bearers. We want to fish and hunt on our homeland without fines and confiscation."

(Pikangikum Band, Sandy Lake, p. 2456)

This same sense of frustration was echoed by a Red Lake high school student:

"Why are the people of this area eager to be heard? It is because our southern neighbours have too great an influence on our lives and we are suffering because of it."

(Vince Keller, Red Lake, p. 522)

First-hand experience with the weakness of the northern economy, based on primary resource extraction, little secondary industry and vulnerability to external factors, prompted bitter complaints from many northerners:

"Resource based industries usually result in an outward flow of profits, taxes, and financial benefits...

Everyone — governments, industry, southern Ontario, and foreign investors, seem to profit at the expense of the northern areas."

(Madsen Community Association, Red Lake, p. 542)

The Kenora-Keewatin and District Labour Council opposed this kind of development:

"We do not want large companies going into these lands taking large profits for 20 years or less, and then when all is devastated, leaving with their profits and leaving behind the people who have sunk half their lives in the area, with nothing."

(Kenora-Keewatin & District Labour Council, Kenora, p. 2737)

The same sentiments were also expressed by Treaty #9:

"We oppose that kind of development that exists for the profits and pleasures of a few people, most of whom live outside the north."

(Treaty #9, Sioux Lookout, p. 89)

All northerners called for a change, a change to development in the interests of the people of the north:

"...development that will benefit us, development in which we can participate from the very beginning."

(Chief Ben Quill, Sandy Lake, p. 2456)

The Kenora-Keewatin and District Labour Council stressed that:

"We must develop in a way that strengthens and enhances the economy of the north."

(Kenora-Keewatin and District Labour Council, Kenora, p. 2738)

Perhaps the most poignant statement came from Warner West of Moose Factory:

"Build the north on its resources, don't bribe the people to allow [its] plunder."

(Warner West, Moose Factory, p. 3335)

Development Philosophies—What Allowance for the Future?

Residents appearing before the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment presented the problems of living in a “boom and bust” economy. Some urged safeguards in planning future development, to protect the freedom and wilderness of the north and its people. Others argued that negative environmental effects could be minimized and welcomed industrial development. Still others recommended small-scale, well-planned development in the interest of an economic balance. A number urged maintaining things as they are, the status quo, while others urged a moratorium on any development “until we know how to do it well.”

“A Bonanza Bash or the Bum’s Rush”— Is There Another Way?

Wry humour abounds among northerners. A country singer contemplating the abandonment of his region by financial interests, finds the line of a song neatly sums up the experience in boom and bust communities. “Oh, the gold rush is over, now the bum’s rush is on.” Northerners have said goodbye to many projected development schemes. Their experience with punctured hopes and delayed expectations has gone far in shaping their outlook toward development.

In weighing proposals for their area, northerners are wary of insensitive development which may render renewable resources non-renewable; for example, when forests are “mined” through clear-cutting, with no plan for regeneration. Northerners worry about the prospects for their children in any community resulting from resource development. They must hope that the industry has a working life of 30 years at least. They recognize that their town can have a future only as long as the industry which sustains it keeps on producing.

Native people claim firm resolutions. They want to pass on to their children the traditional ways of living off the land, of using the gifts of the Great Spirit for survival, of being at one with nature and its resources. But how, they ask, is this possible if, for example, timber companies may be awarded leases and contracts permitting them to cut across native traplines and hunting territories.

The problem posed for the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment was that many speakers recognized that they wished to “have their cake and eat it too”, to maintain their wilderness environment intact while achieving some economic improvement in their private lives. How was the Royal Commission going to establish a balance in its judgment between the people’s attachment to tradition and the region’s apparent economic aspirations to prosperity? This was an underlying theme of many presentations made at the preliminary hearings.

Elders among the natives described the land as a garden, a gift from the Great Spirit. Younger native people wanted the best of both worlds—to follow some traditional, seasonal activities, in combination with remunerative work in the wage labour economy.

Non-native northerners described themselves as more materialistic in contrast with the Indians. Their goal, they claimed, was to achieve a good income in return for strenuous work in extracting the resources from the land, but they too aspired to leisure, to the enjoyment of the outdoor pursuits of hunting and fishing. There is much in common in all northerners' wishes for a better life for their children. A cultural chasm, however, is evident in the different approaches advocated by each group to fulfill the dream of an ideal northern homeland.

Avowing a common concern for the future would normally be viewed as helpful in resolving the differences between northern groups in their development philosophies... but this is not the case. The counter-views, as pointed out to the Royal Commission, are fundamental. In one way or another northerners made a point of the difference between native and non-native perceptions of the land. Indian people live in the land, while non-natives live on it.

Some of the people see themselves as protectors of the land; others, as dealers, trading what the land produces. This difference in attitude to the land is basic when contrasting Indian philosophies of development with those of Euro-Canadians.



Development Philosophies— Differences in Approach Between Northerners

By far the issue most frequently raised before the Royal Commission was concern for development in the north. Should development occur and, if so, at what pace, on what scale and with what safeguards? Northerners were agreed in their condemnation of traditional boom and bust approaches to development, but were not of one mind in how to approach this problem. Some advocated small-scale, locally initiated and controlled developments; others major industrial development, provided adequate controls were in place. Still others sought no development at all, and certainly none in areas possessing particular wilderness quality. A number of groups and individuals called for a complete halt on all development until the Commission had reached and published findings.

The Tri-Municipal Committee seemed to express the feelings of many when it stated that:

"Most of the people in the Tri-Municipal area would like to see growth and development at a pace and size which would not destroy the way of life or the environment."

(Tri-Municipal Committee, Red Lake, p. 476)

Many northerners spoke of their past experiences with large-scale development and were persuaded, like Doug Miranda of Dryden, that the price was too high:

"The time is not now for me to sit back and watch major companies strip and rape our forests, dirtying and soiling our waters and stealing our natural resources, or pollute the fresh air in the north. It has not been a good record for development of the north."

(Doug Miranda, Red Lake, p. 545)

The chambers of commerce and town councils throughout the region pleaded for development which would bring employment, but at the same time urged that:

"... the region not be raped and exploited as a consequence of enticement, oversight, short-run economic relief or contrived lack of alternative."

(The Northwestern Ontario Associated Chambers of Commerce, Sioux Lookout, p. 137)

University of Waterloo professor, Roger Suffling, stated that:

"... there is very little development in the north, only exploitation."

(Roger Suffling, Toronto, p. 1961)

Those who felt that:

"... the potential for beneficial development north of 50° is limitless:"

also stressed that:

"... social and cultural development is a very necessary concomitant."

(Town of Keewatin and Township of Jaffray and Melick, Kenora, p. 2648)

Discussion before the Commission centered on the various proposals for large-scale economic development in northern Ontario—the Reed Ltd. proposal for north of Red Lake, the Polar Gas pipeline project from the Eastern Arctic through northwestern Ontario, the Onakawana lignite mining development south of Moosonee, and the possibility of water diversion by Ontario Hydro of the major rivers draining into James Bay. Many people did see benefits in such developments, mainly greater employment opportunities. Those areas which were the least secure economically were, of course, particularly anxious that development occur. For this reason, the Cochrane Board of Trade supported the Onakawana proposal:

"... the economic picture in the general Cochrane to Moosonee area is not particularly bright... We believe that this proposed development at Onakawana could, if properly handled, be a real godsend to the people of Moosonee, Cochrane and other communities in the area."

(Cochrane Board of Trade, Timmins, p. 1136)

The City of Timmins' Economic Advisory Board felt that employment was a credible argument for development but stressed that the benefits would not automatically go to the local people:

"We must, in our planning scheme, build in devices which will not only employ the residents already living in the north, but moreover, make them partners in the planning process and in the development... Resource development is the best available means of promptly developing an adequate wage economy in the north. The challenge facing developers is in providing the necessary training and assistance so that the northern people can take advantage in the most meaningful way of the opportunities that will result."

(City of Timmins' Economic Advisory Board, Timmins, p. 855-6)

If development were to occur, it must be accompanied by careful planning to ensure that the benefits would be felt locally. One possible way to accomplish this would be if local people were involved in the planning and implementation of development schemes:

"We must ensure that new economic development occur with the participation of the people of the region and benefit the people of the region. We must give encouragement to local initiatives, especially where they lead to a diversification of the economy."

(Ontario Metis & Non-Status Indian Association, Kenora, p. 2643)

Locally initiated and operated small businesses were seen by many to be the best solution to the north's economic problems since they are most cognizant of local needs:

"Only through small businesses will you find truly meaningful year-round jobs, jobs that have some real incentive, chance of promotion and emotional involvement for people. I think businessmen in small communities have a totally better understanding of employee problems, townspeople's problems and any of the area problems."

(Barry Gibson, Kenora, p. 2969)

Most people felt that continued dependence on new single, large-scale resource industries would not provide the economic stability that is desired. At the same time, many allowed that primary industry does provide the basis from which diversification could be built:

"Our best means of developing secondary industry is in reality the expansion of our primary industry."

(Northeastern Ontario Municipalities Action Group, Timmins, p. 2337)

The Ontario Federation of Labour urged that:

"The profits and products of primary industry should be reinvested in secondary industry, generating new jobs."

(Ontario Federation of Labour, Kenora, p. 2659)

Town councils and residents had specific conditions to be met if development were to occur. Most important was that existing communities be strengthened rather than building fresh boom towns, which would eventually die. The Township of Longlac urged:

"...that new industry as far as possible be established within existing communities, that local authorities be included in the planning process for industrial development at an earlier stage."

(Township of Longlac, Nakina, p. 1461)

In the past, jobs and contracts had not gone to northerners. If future development was to occur this

would have to change. The Kenora Women's Coalition recommended that:

"A tendering system (should) be created to allow northerners to have first option on all secondary development — roads, support services, franchises, etc."

(Kenora Women's Coalition, Kenora, p. 2716)

And while many were prepared to accept large-scale development under certain conditions, a boom and bust economy is deeply resented. Northerners demanded that companies assume more responsibility for the fate of their employees:

"Any natural resource industry must also show its appreciation of the use of our resources by ensuring that, in the event of final closure of any industry, be it mines or paper mills, it bears a full financial burden for relocation of workers."

(Canadian Paperworkers Union, Local 238, Kenora, p. 2735)

Repeatedly northerners expressed their dissatisfaction with traditional forms of development, while at the same time recognizing that development was not only inevitable but desirable if properly planned and controlled:

"Do we allow the big corporations to continue to bleed off our natural resources or do we take development slowly and guard the environment as best we can? We do need development and surely there is nothing that will stop progress... We people of the north must make the decisions. We are the ones to gain or lose. We are the people who have made the north our home. We will never again take a back seat and are more determined than ever to form our own destiny."

(Frederick Bergman, Ear Falls, p. 789)

Those who have suffered most from large-scale development in the past have been the native people. They were the most vehemently opposed to a continuation of this pattern. The Fort Severn Band told the Commission that they were opposed to any development in their area:

"However, we want to emphasize that this does not mean we are opposed to all development in the Treaty #9 area. But we are opposed to being offered the so-called choice between massive development schemes which will ruin our land and our lifestyle, or the equally unacceptable choice of welfare dependence. This is like being asked which method of suicide we prefer."

(Fort Severn Band, Osnaburgh, p. 1909)

Kasabonika Band was concerned that development would destroy the land, land which the treaties had promised would be left undisturbed:

"We have different views on development, the views that development is necessary within reasonable means... we want these developments to be controlled so that our lands and our promises are not disturbed."

(Kasabonika Band, Osnaburgh, p. 1914)

Native people repeated over and over that they were not against development per se, but rather uncontrolled development which in the past has destroyed the land on which they depend:

"It has been said many times, nevertheless I wish to say it again, we are not against development. Development as it is proposed by these huge corporations is being imposed on us. We do not want overnight developments which are imminent to destroy so much of our environment, so much of our land, the land which means so much to us. We want development which will not create shock or hurt the people of the Nishnawbe-Aski. What we want is to play a part in the development of our land the way we want to keep it."

(Bearskin Lake Band, Osnaburgh, p. 1856)

The native peoples' aversion to large-scale development schemes derives from their past experiences:

"Projects that have benefitted white promoters have traditionally destroyed the Indian people and the Indian heritage. The white man's so-called 'progress' has left a legacy of callous disrespect and irresponsibility... It is your responsibility, Mr. Commissioner, to ensure that white intrusions into Indian society will never again take place at the expense of my people's lifestyle, culture and sacred traditions."

(Lac Seul Band, Sioux Lookout, p. 46)

Those communities which have experienced development gave witness to the impact it has had on their lives. With their traditional forms of livelihood destroyed came a dependence on welfare, social upheaval, alcohol abuse, family breakdown and violent deaths. Joe Morrison of the Lake of the Woods Pow-Wow Club asked the Commission:

"Can it in truth be called 'development', when the conditions of life are worsened rather than bettered for the majority of those who live in the area immediately surrounding?"

(Lake of the Woods Pow-Wow Club, Kenora, p. 2529)

The Fort Hope Band provided a powerful description of large-scale development:

"The proposed developments are like an approaching thunderstorm, you cannot stop it. You cannot hide. If we are not sheltered we will get wet. We have to build a house that is strong to keep out the storm. This means we have to get together as one body and speak together to be heard."

(Fort Hope Band, Geraldton, p. 1370)

An elder from Bearskin Lake stated that:

"This land is our home... Our view is that no one has the right to destroy all this that the Creator has provided for us... If the Europeans and the natives could use the resources of this land there should be proper negotiations for these developments so that both parties will derive benefits, that no one will lose out in the end."

(Geordie Beardy, Osnaburgh, p. 1796)

Native people wished to ensure that their traditional economy based on hunting, fishing, trapping, and in some areas of Northwestern Ontario, wild rice harvesting would continue. They stressed how much they depend on the land:

"Eighty per cent of the families of Pikangikum Band trap and 50 per cent fish. Only 36 people have fulltime jobs. The land is important. The land is our life."

(Pikangikum Band, Osnaburgh, p. 2455)

Some northerners did not understand the native people's views on development and reacted with hostility to what they saw as an attempt to block progress:

"I don't have anything against the native people... but it seems that every time that we want to do something it would just be stopped and it's hard for me to understand."

(Stan Werbiski, Pickle Lake, p. 1742)

Or as a spokesman for the Northwestern Ontario District Progressive Conservative Youth Association put it:

"I wouldn't be honest with you, sir, if I did not express disappointment over the use that the natives, who have chosen to remain on the land, have made of their woodland areas... Sir, let's be honest, if any white group had control of large areas of land such as those on native reservations, they would put them to much greater use."

(Fergus Devins, Kenora, p. 2576)

However, many people did understand the native people's call for controlled development, and joined in that call:

"We understand the concern that native people have of being passed by and left out in the cold. We must all make government and industry at all levels understand that we expect the north to be more than a place to make money and then get out. We all have a right to a firm economy instead of the feast and famine of present resource industries. Why should northerners be forever having to move?"

(Improvement District of Pickle Lake, Pickle Lake, p. 1674)

The same sentiments were expressed by the Kenora Keewatin Ministerial Association:

"It is evident to us that the pattern of development that has taken place up to now is — has not been enough. It is destroying God's creation, all of it, including people... We fully recognize the wisdom and necessity of corporations to lay plans which they feel will meet their needs 10, 20, 30 years in the future. We ask for a similar 10-year plan which will meet the human and social stress which is tearing the very foundation of our community; in part, because of the meeting of the corporation's needs without due regard and respect for the wider social responsibility."

(Kenora-Keewatin Ministerial Association, Kenora, p. 2697)

Professor Douglas Pimlott of the University of Toronto explained why this destruction had been allowed to occur in the past:

"Industrial societies have traditionally looked at only the development side of the equation. They have rationalized the degradation of the environment, the loss of animal resources, and the destruction of native cultures with the cliché: 'You can't stand in the way of progress'... The forgotten side of the equation, it seems to me, is the environment, and the social economic considerations of native people."

(Douglas Pimlott, Timmins, p. 914)

The best means of balancing the equation seemed to many people to be through a multiple use approach. Multiple use seeks to resolve the land use conflicts between mining, logging, tourism, commercial fishing, trapping and wilderness camping, by ensuring that a single use does not render the environment incapable of supporting other uses. People in the Kenora area were particularly in favour of multiple use:

"Logging operations, tourist facilities, and recreational facilities can be seen throughout the area with the environment well maintained. The area is a living proof that a multiple use concept is possible and essential in this northwestern region. Intensive good management of the natural resources in a multiple use concept is essential for our continued growth."

(Kenora Paper Mill Unions Federated Committee, Kenora, p. 2584)

The multiple use concept would encourage the much needed diversified economy based on tourism, transportation, mining, forestry and secondary industries. Most people recognized that tourism was as essential to the northern economy as industrial development, and saw multiple use as a means by which to ensure that one use of the land did not rule out another:

"We are convinced that meaningful management is the key issue in the north... We lean toward the concept of wisely managed multiple use of all our renewable resources."

(Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters, Kenora, p. 2544)

An Ear Falls couple argued in favour of multiple use. However, they also expressed a hesitation to commit all areas to multiple use and argued that some areas should be set aside and preserved in their natural state:

"Common sense tells us that the 'multiple use' concept is one that should prevail. This appears to be the only way to give sufficient consideration to all parties concerned, and most important to the preservation of our environment, keeping it free from careless users, both industrial and individual... We are living in a time when areas of land should be cordoned off and set

aside as a museum of the future. Our children will want to know what the land looked like before multiple use became the way of life."

(Alex and Delia Rosenthal, Ear Falls, p. 815)

Many wilderness groups and individuals felt that the concept of multiple use was incompatible with true wilderness and, therefore, asked that some areas be set aside, exempt from all commercial activity. They were joined by many northerners who asked that the land be saved from destruction. Millie Barrett delivered an extremely eloquent plea for the preservation of the land north of 50:

"For the land... is still relatively undamaged, still alive, still infused with the quality of the celebration of the meaning of this land... I must urgently insist that we preserve it. Not so much for our own sake but simply because it is right to do so... We must have no more tokenism about conservation and preservation of this land. The effort has to be made, and we have to be prepared to pay in money and care, for the privilege of taking what this land has to give."

(Millie Barrett, Geraldton, p. 1417)

Barrett was not asking that the land remain untouched — she recognized that mining and logging operations were inevitable — but simply stressed that time and care be taken to ensure that the land was not destroyed in the process.

While many disparaged the preservationists who would exclude all use except possibly their own, there was a strong northern voice that called for preservation of the land — at least to the extent that it can be saved from destruction as a result of poorly planned and uncontrolled development. Well-conceived, environmentally sound planning seemed to be the goal of the northern communities.

Many northerners, both native and non-native, look to the government to provide the key to a more reasonable and carefully planned development future for the north. The Commission was told that:

"A government which refers to the north as the last frontier encourages a policy which too often attracts a breed of adventurers to the north whose only interest is in what they themselves are able to take from the area and seldom consider what they can give."

(Connell & Ponsford District School Board, Pickle Lake, p. 1733)

The Red Lake Inter Agency Co-ordinating Committee stressed that the government must be prepared to deal effectively with development, so that maximum benefits are derived and undesirable side effects avoided:

"The various levels of government must not only commit themselves to a rational growth strategy, but must also commit the means to implement the strategy, whether these be financial, legislative, or of a human resource nature."

(Red Lake Inter Agency Co-ordinating Committee, Red Lake, p. 592)

A number of groups and individuals, including Treaty #9 and such groups as Project North, the Canadian Association in Support of Native Peoples (CASNP) and the Ontario Public Interest Research Group (OPIRG), called upon the government to declare a moratorium on all development until the Commission's conclusions had been reached. According to Treaty #9, it was essential that such a moratorium apply to all hearings and assessment processes for proposed projects, as well as the construction phase, so that the momentum for development does not pass the point where it becomes impossible to reverse decisions:

"We are concerned, Sir, with the many hearings, consultations, boards and task forces set up by the Ontario government to examine specific projects in the area of your Commission. It is important, we believe, in order to avoid the slightest suggestion of whitewash, that the government, perhaps at your insistence, declare a moratorium on these inquiries until after you have completed your work and presented them with your report. There can be no serious weight lent to your inquiry if the Provincial Cabinet continues to develop policies, and encourage proposals for northern development while paying lip service to the advice they have sought from your Commission."

(Treaty #9, Sioux Lookout, p. 86)

Roger Obonsawin, of the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto, argued that the Commission should have been created ten years ago, but since the issues had been ignored for so long, a moratorium was now essential:

"We would support a moratorium on development until these hearings are completed, a moratorium on development in the north, because, as I said, maybe we would not have to be asking for a moratorium today if we would have been allowed to say these things ten years ago."

(Native Canadian Centre of Toronto, Toronto, p. 2033)

It was not just native people who called for a moratorium. Hugh Carlson of Red Lake told the Commission that:

"I would like to emphasize a moratorium on major developments in the area during the extent of the Commission."

(Hugh Carlson, Red Lake, p. 717)

Church groups such as Project North joined the call for moratorium, as did Archdeacon Kaye of Sioux Lookout:

"I believe with others that there should be a moratorium on all major development projects until after this Commission has presented its final report, and hopefully established some guidelines in this direction."

(Archdeacon Kaye, Sioux Lookout, p. 249)

In calling for a moratorium, people were seeking to call a halt on development until guidelines for carefully planned and controlled development were in place. Such a delay would also give native people a chance to better prepare themselves and determine what their role in such development would be, as well as giving southerners some time to think through their own attitudes towards development:

"Such a moratorium would give the native people in the north the opportunity to prepare for future development and possible employment in their own communities. It would also allow the people in the south the necessary time to review their attitudes on northern development, and to consider the social and environmental implications, along with the more obvious economic ones."

(Toronto Chapter of the Canadian Association in Support of Native Peoples, Toronto, p. 2037)

On the other hand, some northerners who were anxious for the employment opportunities that development would bring felt that a moratorium would be detrimental to their interests:

"We willingly join environmentalist groups, native organizations and others in demanding that all industrial developments north of 50 be carried out with proper regard for the social and economic needs of the local or nearby communities and for the protection and restoration of the natural environment. We cannot, however, join those who wish us to commit economic suicide by forbidding all development. We too are part of the environment, and we claim the right to a reasonable economic existence."

(Cochrane Board of Trade, Timmins, p. 1141)

Whether or not people were calling for a moratorium, everyone was anxious that the Commission actively search out and recommend ways and means which would see to it that future development would not harm the people or the environment, but would bring benefits to both. Arnold Peters, MP for the riding of Timiskaming, expressed the feelings of many:

"It is my sincere hope that before the exploitation by outsiders of this undeveloped area, your Commission will cause governments and industry to pause and to consider as a total package the people, the resources, and the potential for development of the area, before any major decisions are made. It is a beautiful, fragile country, and I believe it has resources that can be husbanded to the advantage of all concerned. In closing, please let me say — there is no rush. We need jobs desperately throughout all northern Ontario, but don't make us squander the resources left to us in this undeveloped frontier."

(Arnold Peters, MP, Moosonee, p. 3124)

With regard to an overall approach to development, northerners asked simply that they have a choice in determining their future, so that the mistakes of the past are not repeated.



Forestry — A Major Industry and Concern

Reed Limited's proposal to cut the last large uncommitted timber tract in Ontario, just north of Red Lake, created the controversy which led to the establishment of the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment. Many submissions at the hearings dealt with the Reed proposal and forestry in general—forest management policy and practice, regeneration, clear-cutting, large companies controlling timber limits. Such divergent issues as mercury pollution and commercial uses of wood waste as an energy source were also raised.

In acknowledging the importance of the forest industry to the northern economy, many expressed concern that present forest management practises are seriously threatening the continued strength of this industry. Forest regeneration was seen to be woefully inadequate and serious timber shortages were forecast. Existing mills pointed out that they already depend on the area north of 50 to supply much of their needs and they questioned the rationale for a new mill as proposed by Reed Ltd. Reed Ltd. stated that current market conditions have obviated any urgency in their proposal for a mill complex, at least for the time being.

We can replace the trees — Can we replace the wilderness?

"The Canadian Shield is fascinating country of enormous wealth but there is too much of it. In Canada there is too much of everything. Too much rock, too much prairie, too much tundra, too much mountain, too much forest. Above all, there is too much forest."

(Edward McCourt, *The Road Across Canada*, 1905)

Too much forest in the Canadian Shield? The question is an echo from the past and it has come to haunt the north. If the answer is yes, then why cut timber north of 50? If no, how can we afford to denude our most northerly stands of trees?

The prevailing misconception of the past was that northern resources, especially trees, were inexhaustible. Once cut, trees would continue to grow. The trees of an earlier period had not yet in their long evolution encountered the mechanization of 20th century man. Subsequently, the forests of southern Ontario have not grown in pace with the demands of the timber industry. The forests of the north are today being assessed in the calculations of resource financiers contemplating world markets.

To the people of the north, forest reserves are a living environment to be viewed with sensitivity. Man's special relationship with the forest is depicted in a northern folk story.

In the tale, a desolate man, lost and alone in the forest seeks warmth and comfort. A tree offers its branches for a fire, its limbs for furniture, its leaves for food, and its bulk for a house. The man takes what is offered without thanks or acknowledgment. It is only when just the trunk is left that he realizes he has served his own needs—without regard for the tree. But the tree, offering itself for use, does not mind. It asks the man to sit down on its trunk and relax, giving a view of man and tree in altered yet respectful togetherness.

While the story is for children, its subject contains a moral for adult northerners. The underlying theme of this story was restated many times in questions posed before the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment.

Mr. A. J. Korkola, principal of the Geraldton Composite High School and himself a graduate forester, suggested to the Commission that the financial implications of this pattern are, in fact, already making themselves felt:

"The history of forest harvesting in Ontario shows a steady northward movement of cutting operations. We are now at the point that many remaining large softwood stands are distant from existing mills with the result that harvest returns and profits are diminishing, thereby creating a sense of long-term insecurity."

(A. J. Korkola, Geraldton, p. 1265)

As Mr. George Marek, RPF, told the Commission at Geraldton:

"This unfortunate state of affairs is primarily due to the traditional thinking and professional attitudes and philosophies which serve to show clearly the emphasis on the short-term rather than long-term considerations. This helped to perpetuate the myth of the never-ending riches of our forest lands."

(George Marek, Geraldton, p. 1288)

As a result of an amendment to the Crown Timber Act in 1962, the provincial government, in the form of the Ministry of Natural Resources, has responsibility for the management (in particular, regeneration) of cutover lands. This amendment was made necessary on the recognition that industry was not regenerating the cutover land, and it became clear to government that someone had to assume the responsibility.

Since 1962 there have been indications that this separation of two elements, harvesting and regeneration, of what should be a single management approach, has led to serious problems. Although the 1962 amendment was not discussed in great detail by very many people (although many referred to it), it was central to the discussion of forest management.¹

A number of groups and individuals, including Treaty #9, the Ontario Professional Foresters Association and the Faculty of Forestry and Landscape Architecture at the University of Toronto, A. J. Korkola and others, called for a full review of forest management policies, practices and their legislative basis. Treaty #9 felt that this Commission provided the logical forum for such a public review of forest management policy and practice and the structure of the forest industry itself.

Professor Aird, speaking for the Faculty of Forestry and Landscape Architecture of the University of Toronto, also

argued that a "constructive review" of legislation was required. He also said:

"We believe the procedures used to award timber rights are unsatisfactory because they neither provide for the disposition of large tracts of timber on a competitive basis, as in the Reed situation, nor do they provide for discussions by people affected by implementation of the proposals."

(Paul Aird, Toronto, p. 2120)

¹At the moment, discussions are proceeding between government and industry with a view to resolving this question and delegating some responsibility for management to the industry.

The Ontario Professional Foresters Association also felt that:

"What is needed is a complete reassessment of the forest legislation programs and practices of the province."

(Ontario Professional Foresters Association, Ear Falls, p. 794)

The implications of such a review were perhaps made most clear by Mr. A. J. Korkola at Geraldton:

"I believe the province needs to review its present forest policies, introduce new forest policy strategies and show the leadership so as to maintain the economic importance of forestry in our province. This is a need applicable to all of Ontario, not only the area north of 50!"

With this revised and realistic policy of long-term forest planning and required forest management, we northerners would have a greater sense of long-term security."

(A. J. Korkola, Geraldton, p. 1269)

The lack of such a long-term sense of security was quite evident, especially among the workers and management of such companies as the Ontario-Minnesota Pulp and Paper Co. In its presentation before the Commission in Red Lake, that company made it clear that:

"As 50% of the area the Ontario-Minnesota Pulp and Paper Co. Ltd. holds under licence to harvest timber from the province of Ontario lies between the 50th and 51st north parallels of latitude, the recommendations of your inquiry could have a profound effect on this company's operations."

(Ontario-Minnesota Pulp and Paper Co., Red Lake, p. 495)

These operations supply wood to the company's Kenora pulp and paper mill and saw-mill, and these two mills directly and indirectly support a very large portion of the Kenora-Keewatin population. It was argued that the company's present licence is not sufficient to supply all of the requirements of the two mills:

"We must maintain and develop the productivity of our land base, which in the case of the Ontario-Minnesota Pulp and Paper Co. licence, can only supply our Kenora mills with a maximum of 80% of their soft wood requirements. The remainder of our wood must be purchased from independent operators working in Crown Management units both north and south of the 50th north parallel of latitude, as well as from outside the province of Ontario."

(Ontario-Minnesota Pulp and Paper Co., Red Lake, p. 499)

Any threat to the company's timber supply would be seen as a threat to the company's survival, in difficult financial times:

"We submit that any serious dislocation of our traditional harvesting areas or overly stringent guidelines will add costs to our product lines which will further weaken our competitive position."

(Ontario-Minnesota Pulp and Paper Co., Red Lake, p. 502)

This kind of statement was indicative of the financial insecurity being experienced by the forest industry at the present time. It was argued by many that the failure to deal effectively with the question of forest management was in large part responsible for the present predicament. This did not apply specifically to Ontario-Minnesota Pulp and Paper Co., by any means.

As the Ontario Professional Foresters Association suggested:

"Does it make sense to continue our present practice of orderly liquidation of the forest resource south of 50? To extend these practices north of 50 will merely delay that inevitable moment of truth dictated by our inability to compete in the world marketplace... For these reasons the Ontario Professional Foresters Association is opposed to any expansion of forest harvesting and land use operation north of 50 under existing forest policy, statutes, programs and practices."

(Ontario Professional Foresters Association, Ear Falls, p. 794)

(The Ontario Professional Foresters Association was addressing itself to expansion of forest activities north of 50 only and would not argue for interference with the continued activities of existing operations.)

Many of those who spoke on behalf of municipal councils, labour unions, and others in the areas dependent on such companies as Ontario-Minnesota, urged that the timber supply be guaranteed, but recognized that its continuation was threatened largely because of unsatisfactory forest management. According to the submission of the Town of Keewatin and the Township of Jaffray & Melick:

"Our community depends on the timber for our very livelihood. It must continue! The proper management of our environment and, in particular, the forests, is imperative. All people of Ontario should expect and accept nothing less than the proper policies which will enable a large degree of stability and permanence."

(Town of Keewatin and the Township of Jaffray & Melick, Kenora, p. 2650)

Within the context of dwindling timber supplies caused by improper management, few could see merit in the Reed proposal. The Canadian Paperworkers' Union, Local 238, in its submission to the Commission in Kenora was direct:

"We feel it is too large-scale and would do irreparable damage to the ecology of the north. It would also endanger a very large native population's habitat, livelihood and economic base. The size and methods planned for the Reed area would devastate the land, disrupt self-sustaining native villages and put more pollution into an already badly polluted river system. It also threatens the longevity of the present pulp and paper mill centres already here: Dryden, Kenora, and to a lesser degree, Thunder Bay."

(Canadian Paperworkers' Union, Local 238, Kenora, p. 2734)

Why, they asked, should a new pulp and paper mill be considered when pulp and paper mills are closing across Canada?

This was a fairly common question, especially in Ear Falls, where the Commission held an informal meeting in the evening. Again in Kenora, the Kenora-Keewatin and District Labour Council stated that:

"We believe that no new mills should be built in the province of Ontario until a complete inventory of all Crown timber is taken."

(Kenora-Keewatin and District Labour Council, Kenora, p. 2738)

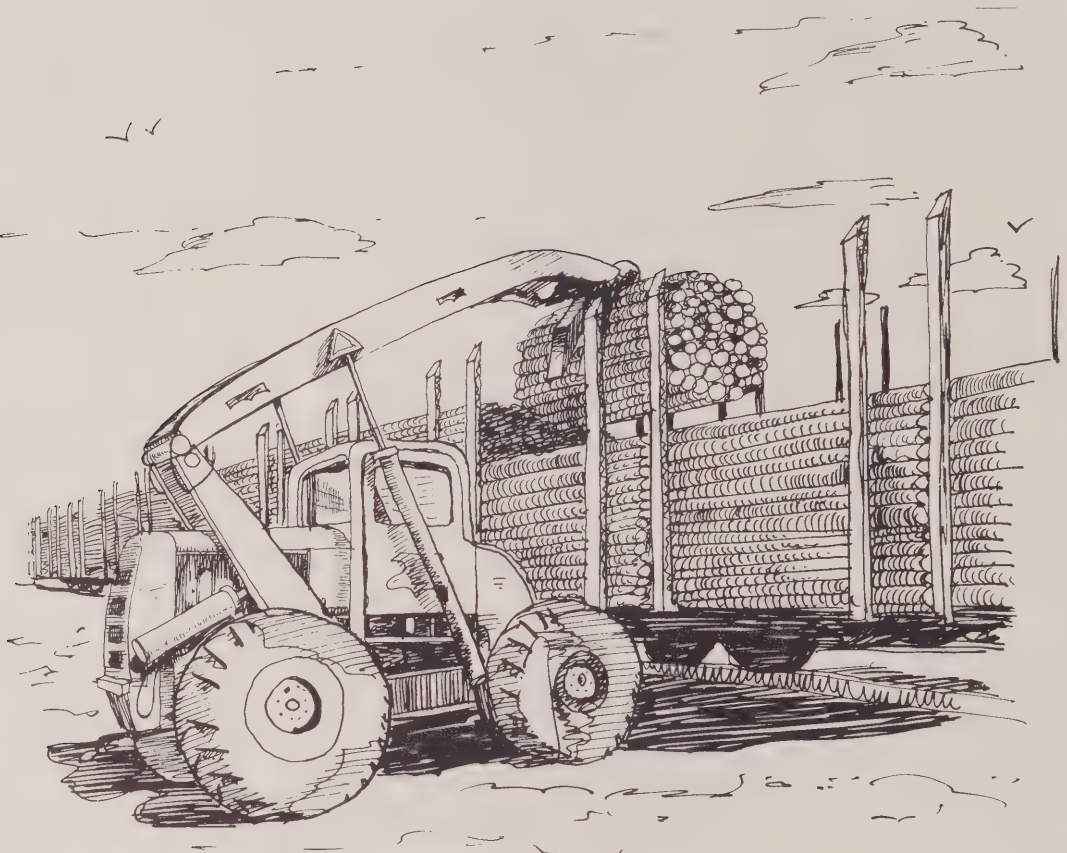
Why is it necessary to cut the virgin timber north of 50? Are forests being "mined" as a non-renewable resource? What consideration is being given the species of trees that are being cut and wasted? What research is being done on the regeneration of forests? Who should best manage the north's forest resources?

Some of these questions were couched in irony. Are we cutting down trees to supply newsprint for conservation-minded papers and organizations? Should an industry be allowed to grow at the expense of the natural regeneration of the environment?

Is southern society, an energy-consuming giant, expecting to develop wood methanol from trees?

Can government and industry divide the responsibility for managing a resource which is dwindling as a result of past neglect by industry, long condoned by government?

One fundamental question, in this instance of the forestry industry, as in other developmental enterprises — can we learn from our mistakes in order to build a better future?



Forestry – The Questions It Raises

Much of the discussion at the Commission hearings centred around the possible northward thrust of the forest industry. What had forestry contributed to the area in the past? What could forestry be expected to contribute in the future? What do northerners perceive to be the problems of the industry at present and what alternatives to present practices would they suggest?

The chief advantages of the forest industry were seen to be economic development and employment in a region sorely in need of both. At the same time northerners were all too aware of the instability of depending on a single industry, even one based on a reputedly renewable resource.

Forest regeneration was an area of particular concern. Many northerners expressed serious doubts about the ability of the forest in the north to produce timber on a sustained yield basis at the present levels of regeneration. The entire question of forest management, both policy and practices, was discussed at length and dissatisfaction appeared widespread.

Mention of the Reed Ltd. proposal came up frequently. Many expressed a reluctance to see the present unsatisfactory pattern of forest development applied to the last, large uncommitted timber limit in Ontario.

Others questioned the wisdom of creating a new mill when other mills across the country are being forced to shut down or lay off workers because of insufficient timber supply and/or market conditions. Still others expressed doubt about the existence of an adequate timber supply to feed the proposed mill complex.

In the minds of some, the Reed proposal simply offered the perpetuation of a pattern of resource development which had not served the north well in the past and which should not be continued in the future.

As speakers followed each other, options appeared to separate into two directions. One group felt that the traditional pattern, despite its inadequacies, did represent the only means of economically developing the north. These were people who preferred to throw in their lot with the status quo and with the large-scale corporate endeavours which had traditionally provided jobs and wealth for the north.

The other group, embracing a wide range of interests and pursuits, was drawn together by a shared feeling that the status quo was not necessarily the way to go, that large-scale developments do not adequately meet the needs of the local people and that small-scale, locally initiated and operated activities were better suited to the northern lifestyle and environment. A fairly consistent complaint aired before the Commission related to the difficulty experienced by small local operators in trying to obtain timber limits. Most of the available timber, it was claimed, was tied up in licences to large companies.

In between these divergent approaches, was a very legitimate concern expressed by some speakers that the forest company for which they worked not have its timber supply, and therefore its operations threatened.

To this group, whatever decision was made with respect to future development in unexploited areas, it must not threaten the continued existence of mills and other operations already established. In this context many saw Reed as a threat.

Most recognized that forest management is a problem not unique to the far north of the province but one which has province-wide implications. What is specific to the north is that northerners are now faced with the decision of whether or not to proceed with what some people referred to as the "orderly liquidation" of the forest resource that has already occurred in other parts of the province.

The pressure to exploit forest resources has moved inexorably northward. With a rotation age ranging from 60 to more than 100 years as one progresses further northward, very little of the cutover land would be ready to be cut in the near future, even assuming adequate regeneration of forests would have occurred.

In the past, the simplest thing to do when timber was used up, was to move on to a fresh uncut area. Hence operations have moved ever northward. Now, as uncut land becomes increasingly scarce, however, it is time to face up to the unavoidable question of regeneration, and to re-examine our whole attitude towards forest management.

They also explained that:

"We are not against development of the north, but we do advocate a controlled, planned development of this very fragile land. We do not want large companies going into these lands taking large profits for 20 years or less, and when all is devastated, leaving with their profits and leaving behind the people, who have sunk half their lives in the area, with nothing."

(Kenora-Keewatin and District Labour Council, Kenora, p. 2737)

Even in the Red Lake/Ear Falls area, which would receive the most immediate economic benefits from the proposed Reed mill, there were many who were hesitant about the project. For example, the Ear Falls-Perrault Falls Chamber of Commerce expressed concern about the proposed project and listed a series of strict guidelines which must be met:

"... to assure us that it will not turn out to be an exploitation ... Any deviation from these demands would have a serious impact on our acceptance of any industrial development in the future."

(Ear Falls-Perrault Falls Chamber of Commerce, Ear Falls, p. 751)

There were many who questioned whether timber resources in the area that Reed proposed to cut were sufficient to support the proposed mill. George Green, of Green Airways, told the Commission at Red Lake that:

"Gentlemen, I have flown this country as much and probably more than anybody in this room. There isn't a third of the resources expected and most of it is matchwood."

(George Green, Red Lake, p. 673)

The Ministry of Natural Resources is currently undertaking a forest inventory of the region as part of its responsibility laid out in the terms of the Memorandum of Understanding signed with Reed Ltd. in October, 1976. In the meantime, knowledge of the forest resource remains sketchy. Even more important is the question of whether or not the trees will grow back when cut. In discussing the Reed study area the submission of the Faculty of Forestry and Landscape Architecture, University of Toronto, had this to say:

"Intensive forest management is planned for this particular area but not all forest lands have the potential to be managed intensively. There are extensive areas of wetlands and of shallow soils over bedrock in the north. Experience south of 50 latitude indicates that these soil types are extremely sensitive and it is questionable if intensive forest management could be practiced on these lands. Undoubtedly some soils within the region have the potential for intensive forest management but, before development occurs, there should be a delineation of lands capable of supporting intensive forestry and of land which would be extremely sensitive to disturbance. The primary problem is the scarcity of adequate information on the

soils, climate, vegetation and wildlife of this region and the effects of intensive forest management."

(Faculty of Forestry and Landscape Architecture, University of Toronto, Toronto, p. 2122)

It was evident at the hearings in Red Lake and Ear Falls that many people were hesitant to bank the future of their community on a project which brought to mind so many unanswered questions, not the least of which was the recurring theme of why a new mill when so many others are closing down. In a carefully worded submission made at Red Lake, Reed Ltd. revealed that the economic situation was such that it would not be profitable to go ahead with the proposal at this time. Due to a world-wide recession the demand for pulp and paper products is growing very slowly. As a result:

"There is unused production capacity in the industry, and shutdowns — either temporary or permanent, are occurring in plants around the world. At the same time, producers of some pulp and paper products and their customers are holding large inventories of these products."

(Reed Ltd., Red Lake, p. 512)

The product hardest hit by this market slowdown is market kraft pulp, the major product of Reed's Dryden mill. This oversupply of market pulps means that there is less demand for the product, hence lower prices, at a time when all other costs are rising — labour, wood, taxes, transportation, energy, and chemicals.

At the same time, competition from other countries, especially the southern United States where costs are lower and rotation ages substantially shorter, is stiffening. Ontario-Minnesota Pulp and Paper Co. in their submission pointed to the fact that despite the unfavourable situation worldwide, construction plans are being considered in the southern United States as well as overseas:

"This condition has to reflect the concern of the investment community as to the abilities of the Canadian industry to remain competitive."

(Ontario-Minnesota Pulp and Paper Co., Red Lake, p. 502)

It appears therefore, at least for the short term, that the Reed proposal will remain in the conceptual stage. Reed does intend, however, to sustain its interest in the proposal. Should the economic situation change, the project could once again be considered viable.

Even if Reed Ltd. were to lose interest in the project, northerners believe there will be pressure to develop this forest area north of 50 as timber supplies become scarce. At this time, there are many who would argue it wasteful not to cut the forest.

As Reed Ltd. put it:

"Trees are a crop which if not harvested will deteriorate and die. With proper management, they will provide an economic industrial base in perpetuity."

(Reed Ltd., Red Lake, p. 508)

A resident of Ear Falls, Frederick Bergman, echoed this viewpoint:

"It must be realized when sections of timber reach their maturity we have a number of choices at our disposal. We can harvest these trees, let them burn in forest fires or just rot and be blown down by winds... This represents an unbelievable loss in jobs, and revenue to the province and its people."

(Frederick Bergman, Ear Falls, p. 786)

Or as the Forest Industries Association put it to the Commission in Sioux Lookout:

"The important concept to understand is that man, approaching a natural over-mature forest for the first time as is the case in northern Ontario, can convert it into a healthier, younger, more productive forest by harvesting only the allowable cut each year and by ensuring regeneration of the second crop. This can be done without damage to the forest resource. Indeed its value will be enhanced dramatically in terms of dollars, wildlife habitat, and, yes, even aesthetics once the new crop has grown enough to cover the scars of logging."

(Ontario Forest Industries Association, Sioux Lookout, p. 166)

This concept, that it is not only economically foolish but somehow ecologically wasteful, not to cut the over-mature forest, is an integral part of our attitudes towards the forest industry in Ontario. It is inherent in the historical attitude of the provincial government which saw the forest resource as a source of revenue and was largely concerned with administering the exploitation of the resource.

It is not inherent in the attitudes of individuals such as Wilf Wingenroth, a trapper who spoke to the Commission at Sioux Lookout. He said that he was concerned by a bumper sticker he had seen recently which read:

"Trees are a renewable resource."

He was concerned because it was clear that the car belonged to a Reed employee who wanted to put the message across that trees can be cut and regrown:

"Well, what I have to object to in this is, well, let us come to another sentence I made up and it goes like this — trees are a renewable resource, but wilderness isn't. You can regrow trees anywhere if you have enough time, but you can never build up a wilderness again."

(Wilf Wingenroth, Sioux Lookout, p. 149)

This sentiment was echoed by a number of people who, in turn, viewed the projected expansion of the forest industry into the untouched wilderness as a threat to their

own chosen way of life and to the survival of the animals and fish on which they depend.

This group, which included people like Wilf Wingenroth, had chosen to live their life in the bush much in the manner of native people like Chief Ben Quill of Pikangikum.

Pikangikum is in the proposed Reed cutting area and the traplines of the people of the reserve spread throughout the area.

Chief Quill came to Red Lake to speak to the Commission:

"I have been a trapper and a fisherman for 30 years and I know the animals in the bush. I want to tell you what will happen if Reed cuts down the bush and if the rivers are dammed. If a large area of bush is cut down, the land animals would disappear. There would be open spaces — too cold in the winter and too hot in the summer for wildlife. They like the bush, to get away from the wind in winter and to have shade in the summer. I know this from my own experience."

(Pikangikum Band, Red Lake, p. 646)

Similar concerns, from a different perspective, were voiced by the Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters, an organization committed to promoting sound environmental management with emphasis on the fish and game resources. They told the Commission at Timmins of the debate underway between government departments and the forest industry over harvesting techniques:

"All the while, clear-cut harvesting continues, when it is known that this is not the way to harvest for food, forest and game management. Basic textbooks on silviculture clearly state the hazards of clear-cut harvesting, especially in the northern Boreal Forest and they specify a modified clear-cut as more proper."

(Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters, Timmins, p. 1049)

The debate over whether or not harvesting disturbs the wildlife population, was by no means one-sided and it was acknowledged that what may have adverse effects on one species may be advantageous to another. Nevertheless it became evident that there were substantial conflicts of interest between the various users of the forest resource. The concept most widely supported as the solution to these conflicts was that of multiple use. According to the Canadian Institute of Forestry, Lake of the Woods section:

"Until quite recently, forest users could 'stake out' a trap line, a cottage site, a tourist camp, a wilderness area or a timber licence from the public domain without coming into conflict with other users. But now, due to the ever increasing demands that our society is placing upon products of the Boreal Forest, these single users find themselves competing for the same piece of public domain to the exclusion of all others."

(Canadian Institute of Forestry, Kenora, p. 2569)

They went on to argue that the forest could meet most of the demands placed on it through multiple use planning, if the forest were managed on a sustained yield basis with adequate funds from government. Many argued that logging has actually improved conditions in the forest for other users. The Kenora Paper Mill Unions Federated Committee told the Commission at Kenora that:

"Because of the logging operations our game animals, such as moose, have improved feeding and shelter conditions . . . As a direct result of logging, game has increased in our area. Also this has been possible through the multiple use concept."

(Kenora Paper Mill Unions Federated Committee, Kenora, p. 2586)

Multiple use is a concept supported by foresters, the forest industry and forest company employees alike. Nevertheless conflicts between users continue to exist and nowhere is this more obvious than in the debate over the proposed Atikaki wilderness park.

Feelings against the Atikaki proposal¹ were running high in Kenora when the Commission held its hearings there and it was generally felt that the proposal threatened the continued existence of an area so completely dependent on the forest industry. The Kenora Paper Mill Unions Federated Committee stated that:

"The Atikaki proposal strikes at the very heart of our people's livelihood."

(Kenora Paper Mill Unions Federated Committee, Kenora, p. 2588)

¹The Atikaki proposal is a plan put forward by conservationists to establish a wilderness park stretching across the Ontario-Manitoba border. The total wilderness area would encompass 4,950 square miles.

The Canadian Paperworkers Union, Local 238, explained:

"It is common knowledge that the residents of this area do not want a park taking up our timber land. As it was originally planned it would have cut off 100,000 cords of wood annually to the Kenora mill. The management of the Kenora mill emphatically stated it would put the mill in the position of having to close down."

(Canadian Paperworkers Union, Local 238, Kenora, p. 2734)

The Atikaki Council appeared before the Commission to defend itself, claiming that the figures quoted by Ontario-Minnesota Pulp and Paper Co. were misleading and inaccurate and that Atikaki had made every effort to keep them informed on its proposal:

"...and above all, we have never said that Ontario-Minnesota Pulp and Paper Co. should lose any of their wood supply, but rather that a compensating area should be taken from the Reed expansion area. It is ridiculous to believe that we would ever suggest something that would close the Kenora mill."

(Atikaki Council, Kenora, p. 2982)

The conflict between wilderness proponents and those who depend on the forest industry for their livelihood appeared unappeased by the concept of multiple use. It became clear that as long as the two groups wanted use of the same piece of land the chances for conciliation were slim.

The tourist industry remains committed to multiple use; the conflicts between the tourist industry and the forest industry arise largely out of disagreement over practices. At Dryden the Kenora District Campowners Association stated that:

"Tourism has lost immeasurable revenue over the years as a result of the intrusion of roads, often cut needlessly to remote lakes where a tourist outfitter has an outpost camp, or in some cases a main based fly-in resort."

(Kenora District Campowners Association, Dryden, p. 394)

The Northern Ontario Tourist Outfitters Association agreed that access roads pose the greatest threat to the tourist operator but pointed out that:

"Other resource exploitation policies, water pollution, clear-cutting, etc. that remove the possibility of multiple use of our northern environment and renewable resources, understandably create tremendous resentment among our outfitters. In this regard, we share the concerns expressed by the native people over the loss of wilderness or the opportunity to have a true wilderness experience."

(Northern Ontario Tourist Outfitters Association, Toronto, p. 1988)

It is not within the ordinary person's reach to have access to such a pure wilderness experience. Only through access roads and other accommodations does the wilderness become available. But does it still remain wilderness?

Clearly, conflicts over various uses of the land raise fundamental questions about how northerners wish to see their land developed. Many people felt the need for economic development to provide jobs and amenities, but were hesitant about the kind of development that should occur.

The traditional justification for large-scale developments has been jobs. However, as the Ontario Federation of Labour pointed out in Kenora:

"It is perhaps somewhat unnecessary to say that employment is a key concern of the labour movement, and that employment is tied to economic expansion and development. However, unionists in the north have learned and are presently being reminded of hard lessons from the boom and bust cycles of the past, the company towns which can die as quickly as they were once set up, the pollution, the waste of raw products..."

(Ontario Federation of Labour, Kenora, p. 2658)

TREES¹, a citizens' group in Red Lake, suggested to the Commission that with rising costs, especially energy costs, and the expense required for pollution abatement equipment, it would be difficult for the government and/or community to maintain environmental regulations at a mill whose operation was justified on the basis of sustaining employment:

¹TREES stands for Taking Responsible Environmental and Economic Safeguards.

"We urge the Commission to consider this question and to reflect on whether it might not be better to develop smaller industries which would be more flexible, individually less vital to the survival of the community and therefore less likely to be allowed to break sound environmental protection laws."

(TREES, Red Lake, p. 656)

With respect to the Reed Proposal:

"The Commission should think about whether the interests of the people and the environment (and ultimately the two are the same) might be better served by a more varied use of such a large area. Optimum utilization of the forest might consist of ensuring that all development within the area be small in size and of relatively low impact on the environment. Obvious possibilities are tourism, small woods operations, small woods manufacturing industries and wild rice harvesting and fisheries operations in waterways that remain unpolluted."

(TREES, Red Lake, p. 658)

A very common complaint voiced at the hearings was that small local operators have trouble getting timber licences, because most of the timber is tied up in limits held by large companies.

In Sioux Lookout the Commission heard from the Northwestern Ontario Associated Chambers of Commerce:

"Timber limits — essentially total commitment to large paper companies. We ask you to look at the small management units for the independent operators which are almost at its depletion point. Woods operations for local initiative are insufficient and inadequate ... There is very little area left for the independent woodcutter to operate as a private businessman."

(Northwestern Ontario Associated Chambers of Commerce, Sioux Lookout, p. 142)

And in Timmins, the Town of Cochrane maintained that the unavailability of timber is stifling the forest industry in the area:

"The timber resources are still being held by large

companies who have more reserves than they will ever require for a perpetual operation. If small licences or permits were available to small operators, the timber industry in our area would have a chance to grow."

(Town of Cochrane, Timmins, p. 1162)

Not only are timber limits difficult to get, but those which do become available tend to be the unwanted limits, either those which have already been picked over by large companies, or which were considered undesirable by them.

In Kenora, the Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association, Zone 1, complained that because decent timber limits are becoming more difficult to get, there has been a steady decline in the small third party contractors:

"This means we must now work mainly for the big companies ... It means there is a loss of flexibility in bush employment ... Even those who work for the big companies have to worry because of the increasing mechanization."

(Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association, Kenora, p. 2640)

The Lake of the Woods Pow-Wow Club stressed to the Commission the importance of Indian-owned and -operated small corporations to the people who were involved in them. A sense of self worth and accomplishment grows out of these corporations involved in the cutting and marketing of pulpwood. However:

"We also know what it is like to struggle to become 'viable' when the best timber of the area is reserved for large corporations and you are assigned allotments that have been released by these corporations only because they could not harvest them profitably. In fact, some of us were expected to be happy when we were given a tract to 'clean up' where the company had already gone through with their work crews and machines."

(Lake of the Woods Pow-Wow Club, Kenora, p. 2538)

In a submission made to the Commission at Kenora, but not presented orally, Treaty #3 echoed these feelings that native people are being judged by their performance on land rejected by the large companies:

"Mr. Commissioner, my people need more co-operation and more licenced access to timber areas. The terms of many industrial leases allow the Minister of Natural Resources to release the areas held under corporate licences. It should be in the interest of the government, industry and Indians to give back the licences of good stands of timber to the original owners for harvesting."

(Treaty #3, brief entitled Timber and Logging submitted to the R.C.N.E.)

In Geraldton, Father Brian Tiffin told the Commission about his experience at Gull Bay, where the native people have established a successful logging operation.

Called the Gull Bay Development Corporation, the operation was run by the Band Council, using the expertise of Professor John Blair, Faculty of Forestry, Lakehead University. One of the major problems faced at Gull Bay was obtaining land to harvest:

"All the land around Gull Bay was under licence to the large lumber companies. It was just because Northern Wood Preserves let them move in that they were able to start that operation."

(Father Brian Tiffin, Geraldton, p. 1286)

A recurring theme persisted throughout many submissions: it is important that northerners, both native and non-native, be involved in the development of the north, whatever form that may take, and that the initiative come from within them.

Speaking to the Commission at Kenora, Mr. Mac Morrison of Mac Morrison Forest Products, insisted that:

"The answer is right here in the north."

(Mac Morrison, Kenora, p. 2963)

He argued that the area north of Minaki is open to independent contractors and truckers and that a range of small operations is possible:

"We feel the answer is not mass harvesting by any one company in the north of Minaki, but for the government to give the small businessman a chance to stimulate new and existing business in the north."

(Mac Morrison, Kenora, p. 2962)

He had suggestions for a number of projects, some using undesirable species, e.g., poplar, to develop small-scale processing and manufacturing industries such as a chipboard or veneer mill.

As the Ontario Federation of Labour told the Commission in Kenora:

"For these reasons we feel it is of critical importance to recognize the need for a solid base of secondary industry in the north. The profits and products of primary industry should be reinvested in secondary industry, generating new jobs. In this way the natural riches of the north would become a level for economic progress and growth."

(Ontario Federation of Labour, Kenora, p. 2659)

This was an opinion expressed by many, including labour and town councils. The Kenora-Keewatin and District Labour Council stated that:

"We must develop in a way that enhances the economy of the north. When the north is to have development we must insist that a fully developed industry results. Secondary industries should also be developed. For example: manufacturing of furniture, hockey sticks, toboggans, sleighs, skis and wooden toys."

(Kenora-Keewatin and District Labour Council, Kenora, p. 2738)

And again, from the Canadian Paperworkers Union, Local 105, at Dryden:

"The general feeling of our workers, the workers I represent, is that emphasis should be directed at producing a more complete or finished product rather than stockpiling the raw material. In addition, these finished products could be established with less exploitation of our forest."

... Another aspect that must be considered is total utilization of our forest material. We should produce here products ready for the consumer to the largest degree possible in order that the value of such production remains in our community to provide additional employment opportunities and services for all our people."

(Canadian Paperworkers Union, Local 105, Dryden, p. 442)

Many of these secondary industries could be on a scale where they could be initiated and operated by local entrepreneurs. The north needs diversification to relieve its dependence on single industries and make it less susceptible to the fluctuations in world markets of single products.

Small local businesses could be more easily adapted to the needs of the community and would prove much more labour intensive per investment dollar. Small sawmills, independent logging operations, furniture manufacturing, all could contribute to the economic diversification and true development of the north, without having the scale of environmental impact that a large cutting operation and pulp mill would.

One final area arousing comment was that of wood as an energy source. Speakers pointed out that with energy prices escalating as they are it becomes necessary to re-examine our traditional patterns of development, based on large-scale, energy intensive operations.

It also becomes necessary to take another look at our possible energy sources. In this context it becomes conceivable that wood could serve a primary role as an energy source.

At the moment, research is going on in regard to this question. The Ministry of Energy indicated to the Commission that it is working on developing the commercial applicability of using wood wastes at the site of a pulp mill to produce steam and perhaps electricity. The potential for producing methanol from wood wastes is also being examined.

The town of Sioux Lookout felt that small-scale technology such as the "processing of wood-waste on-site, or conversion into energy, conversion into methanol and conversion into heat" could provide substantial stimulus and benefits to small, isolated communities such as Sioux Lookout.

(Town of Sioux Lookout, Sioux Lookout, p. 42)

And, on a more basic level, TREES pointed to the already growing return to wood heat and asked:

"If communities north of 50 are forced to return en masse to their use of wood heat how many acres per year of standing timber would have to be cut to provide the necessary fuel?"

(TREES, Red Lake, p. 654)

While wood heat is unlikely to become a universal, or even a province-wide solution to the energy crisis, its appeal indicates, along with the attention being paid to wood wastes and methanol, that the forest cannot continue to be viewed in the same way as it has been traditionally.

Demands today on the forest are different than in earlier times. The limits of the forest are in sight. Obviously, this is the time for a full reassessment of forest policy. That was the one point upon which speakers addressing the Royal Commission were agreed.





Mining – Wealth and Disturbance

The importance of the mining industry to the northern economy loomed large at meetings of the Royal Commission. Supporters saw Canada as a whole and Ontario in particular benefitted by the process; and critics were mindful of the negative effects of an extractive industry. To its supporters, mining was the keystone of northern development. To others, environmental damage and the negative social implications of a boom and bust industry were too high a price to pay for a short-lived prosperity. Warnings against dependence on a non-renewable resource were voiced and a change in emphasis towards self-sustaining enterprises was urged. Northerners seemed agreed that their mining areas had been divested of wealth without an adequate positive return for their region.

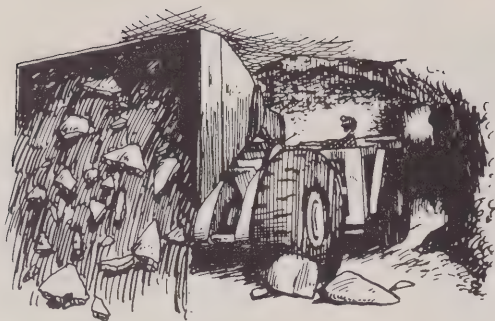
Native people were particularly bitter about the disruptive impacts mining developments have had on their lives. They had experienced few benefits and had rarely been consulted, even peripherally, during the process. In a different spirit, mining industry representatives described themselves as discouraged by world markets, environmental standards and inhibiting tax laws.

A Matter of Mystique and Money

When one thinks of the north of Ontario, one frequently thinks first of the rich mineral strikes that drew settlers to the area. The lure of gold and silver was a powerful attraction. People were willing to endure hardships and deprivation for the chance to “strike it rich.” The frontier days are now long gone but many northerners are still dependent on the wealth within the earth to provide them with the necessities and some of the luxuries of life. Some feel, however, that mining as an industry has been less than just in returning wealth to the people of the north and in sharing their respect for the land. Native people, particularly, are persuaded that exploration and development, as it has occurred in the past, would have adverse effects on their lives and the lives of their children.

Northerners firmly believe that mining developers must consult with them and plan cooperatively so that benefits remain in the north. This was the message that many northern residents communicated to the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment. In shaping guidelines for future development of northern Ontario, the Commission was advised to keep in mind the legendary words attributed to Roza Brown¹: “Don’t mess around with this woman – it is marriage and a future or nothing.”

¹Roza Brown was considered to be one of the more colourful characters in Cobalt – Kirkland Lake mining camps of the early part of this century.



Allowing for their reservations about the ways of resource exploiters, most northerners do consider themselves to be realists and, in some cases, fatalists. "Put several million dollars on the table", some say, "and governments will bend over backwards to accommodate a massive mining adventure."

In future, however, they would desire mining companies to direct a greater proportion of their cash flow to the benefit of northern residents. The people of the north mean to be accommodated in this regard.

Be it lignite, gold, copper or uranium, mine developers, in the main, see their role as wealth producing. The consequences of their finds are employment, sales and profits.

When the ore runs out — that is another story. Boom and bust is the story of mining ventures in Ontario's north. The environment and conditions under which development is encouraged, that is a matter for the people of a specific area and for the governments they influence.

To make that fabled and fabulous discovery, prospectors and geologists must be free to roam. If and when they discover a mineral deposit, their hope is that the find is of a size and value that will make mining economical. Mining people fear government and resent extraneous costs; for example, taxes, social regulations and charges arising from distance, location or difficulty of terrain.

The Commission was told that mining people are not easily discouraged. They know that the richer the find the more likely it will be that the developers and operators will negotiate positively with local and provincial authorities for a clearance on production.

Mining people were agreed that it was this fascination for minerals which led to the development of mining as the second largest industry in Ontario's north today.

Early operators had easily adopted an attitude of "anything that is of advantage to mining is of advantage to the country." (W. H. Wright, 1936).¹ In depression times, the need for jobs, new wealth, additional foreign exchange, all encouraged the extraction of minerals without much preoccupation with the consequences to the natural and social environment.

The prevailing thrust of the submissions to the Royal Commission regarding resource development north of 50 related to tomorrow's ventures. The needs of a total environment and comprehensive planning were foremost in the recommendations of most speakers.

¹J. R. Colombo, ed., Colombo's Canadian Quotations (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1974), p. 644.

New Mineral Resources A Keystone to Development

Issues relating to mining were presented both from the perspective of northern residents and the mining industry. While people saw new mining developments as a source of badly needed employment, many were wary of short-lived employment based on a non-renewable ore body, a resource which would eventually be depleted and which would be subject to the uncertainties of the world mineral market.

Northern residents were also mindful of the industry's negative effects on the environment. Native people were especially concerned that their traditional livelihoods of fishing, hunting and trapping would be interfered with and that they would not be consulted in the development process.

The mining industry, through its representatives, listed some of its concerns such as the uncertainties and red tape of the province's mining taxes, disruptive changes in regulations, unpredictable rates of return on investment, and other variable factors which can render the investment climate unsuitable for mineral development.

Some speakers felt strongly that the mining industry was important to the future of the north:

"It is our indisputable view that the keystone of northern development is the exploration for and discovery of new mineral resources. The exploitation of natural resources provides the major source of new wealth for our country and accounts to a large extent for the high standard of living of all Canadians."

(Prospectors and Developers Association, Timmins, p. 2341)

The City of Timmins stressed the importance of mining to Timmins' economy:

"Timmins, like most of its neighbouring communities from Georgian Bay to Hudson Bay, was developed by mining and lumbering ... it lives by mining and lumbering ... and it will die without them ... Mining and lumbering are the past and present bases of prosperity. Gold is the historic reason for the city's growth ... With the current increases in the price of gold on the open market, there is an unlimited potential for future development in this field in the near future."

(City of Timmins Economic Advisory Board, Timmins, p. 849)

The Ontario Mining Association outlined the potential for mineral development which exists north of 50 and urged that exploration and development be encouraged:

"The mining industry is one of the most important and consistent producers of wealth and employment in the province. There is a definite potential for the development of resource-based industries north of 50.

Mining is, and should continue to be, a prime factor in the economy of this area."

(Ontario Mining Association, Timmins, p. 1016)

Others were not so optimistic and felt that emphasis should be placed on renewable resources rather than unstable, non-renewable resources:

"In view of the current trends in the world mineral prices, it is difficult to be optimistic about the future productivity and life span of the mining industry. It is therefore, in our submission, vital to our future economic security that we develop our renewable resources."

(Dryden District Chamber of Commerce, Dryden, p. 379)

Some groups like the Cochrane Board of Trade, however, felt that this sort of argument was a red herring, and that no development, renewable or non-renewable, can be expected to last forever. In the meantime, they welcomed the benefits which such developments as the Onakawana Development Ltd. proposal to mine lignite coal would bring:

"We feel obliged to comment on the claim that an industry expected to last only 40 years does not represent permanent employment ... In these times of world-wide economic uncertainty any industrial development with an estimated life of 40 years can be considered permanent ... Those of us whose economic existence must take place in the real world would welcome such 'insecurity'."

(Cochrane Board of Trade, Timmins, p. 1138)

The Moosonee Board of Trade also felt that Onakawana Development Ltd. provided substantial opportunity for northerners if managed properly:

"Onakawana wishes to open a large development in this area and is willing, according to their spokesmen, to hire local people if they have the necessary skills for the available jobs. We should be charged, as businessmen, with the responsibility of the training, and industry with the responsibility of job availability. Government should be controlling both, not hindering one or the other. We would wish Onakawana to move in, and possibly it will be the key to opening and developing the north successfully."

(Moosonee Board of Trade, Moosonee, P. 3162)

While the Moosonee Board of Trade supported the Onakawana proposal, they also recognized the need to control development carefully, so that the boom-bust pattern of the past is not continued:

"We feel that development is necessary but must be controlled. We, as a community, and the government must work jointly to ensure controls are instituted and carried out. Unfortunately, it has been found in the past that controls are necessary; necessary to protect our environment and people. How and where must these controls start? They must, we feel, start right at the northern development planning stage... We do not need several industries coming in, doing their development and then moving out en masse. Isolated, piece-meal development has never and will never be a satisfactory answer."

(Moosonee Board of Trade, Moosonee, p. 3166)

Further concerns were expressed about the boom-bust cycle of mineral development, and whether the majority of benefits arising from this development went to local residents or flowed out of the area:

"It is perhaps somewhat unnecessary to say that employment is a key concern of the labour movement, and that employment is tied to economic expansion and development. However, unionists in the north have learned and are presently being reminded of hard lessons from the boom and bust cycles of the past, the company towns which can die as quickly as they were once set up, the pollution, the waste of raw products, the lack of health, education and transportation facilities, the lack of jobs for women, the relocation and dislocation which occurs when a company is closed. These kinds of effects are not just economic — they wreak havoc on the personal and family lives of inhabitants of the north. The lack of stability is oppressive."

(Ontario Federation of Labour, Kenora, p. 2658)

Perhaps worst in the minds of northerners is the seemingly inevitable flow of youth south in search of opportunity:

"Where are the jobs from the silver of Cobalt, Gowganda, Elk Lake, etc.? In the south — where else, along with the cream of our young people. Kirkland Lake, Timmins and their resource, gold, same story — the workers built and paid for the towns, educated the children who had to go south because no jobs were provided for their skill. Where did the cream go? Toronto and other southern cities. They prospered on the riches of our people and our resources. Now it's not with pride that many of our mining towns can claim welfare as their largest industry. It's true that towns like Timmins found new ore and all is boom again for a while, but the end is inevitable because we do not use the resource to finance the future. For the mining industry, it's jobs today and to hell with tomorrow."

(Arnold Peters, MP, Moosonee, p. 3115)

Some people questioned who indeed benefitted from mineral resource extraction:

"By and large the Ontario government has been subsidized through the private development of north-eastern Ontario's resources, we refer to the royalties derived from the mining industry and from the forest industry. The funds so received, and people here will back me on this, are cleared to the Consolidated Revenue Fund and distributed throughout Ontario. There is and has been a growing feeling amongst residents of northern Ontario that the revenue realized by the department, that is the Treasury Department, should be returned in a greater measure to the north, in the form of road construction to ease the excessive transportation costs which obtains here."

(Town of Smooth Rock Falls, Timmins, p. 2318)

Others felt that the time was past when the environment would or could be allowed to suffer as a result of mining development:

"Mines can be and should be developed with little threat to the environment, providing controls are put on the companies concerned such as has been the case. Because of the technical knowhow these days, there is no reason why our environment should be endangered."

(Frederick Bergman, Ear Falls, p. 788)

Native people were especially concerned about the effects of mining development on their reserves and their way of life. They related that they had not benefitted but rather had suffered as a result of mining developments over the years:

"Our area was thrown open by the discovery of gold at Central Patricia and Pickle Crow. Gold was discovered by members of the Osnaburgh Band, discovery from which the band has not benefitted. To reach the gold strikes and to bring in the necessary equipment, a road was required. As a result, the then Department of Highways undertook the negotiations for the surrender of reserve land upon which the road was constructed. To this date, the Osnaburgh Band knows that these negotiations, though barely legal, are morally insupportable and that the compensations were inadequate. It is similar to the damming of the Albany River to generate the necessary power source. That damming created flood conditions ruining reserve land, gardens, homes and graveyards. Again, negotiations and compensations were inadequate. We were then forced to relocate from the Osnaburgh Reserve 63A in signing the Treaty #9 on our present site."

(Osnaburgh Band, Osnaburgh, p. 1805)

To the native people, the white man's attitudes and actions are inexplicable:

"The Indians were the first to inhabit this country now known as Canada. The white man came from across the oceans to make this his country, also, but it seems that they have taken over the whole land and the things that come from the earth itself, namely, silver, gold, nickel and other valuable rocks and minerals. These substances, we feel, rightfully belong to the Indian people. We scarcely obtain things that are of value."

(North Caribou Lake Band, Osnaburgh, p. 1831)

Native people want to be informed and consulted about mineral exploration and discoveries on or adjacent to their reserves. They recognize that these discoveries and the possible development arising from them could have profound effects on their lives:

"We just found out that North Spirit Lake is sitting on a very big deposit of iron ore. If this iron is to be mined, it will mean strip mining because the southern so-called developers never believe the land of the north is worth protecting. It might even mean the diking of North Spirit Lake itself. Will the spirits of the lake tolerate such destruction? Will we? Will you, Justice Hartt? We agree with all other northern communities in their opposition to developments such as these. People who live in the south do not realize that people who live in the north, both white people and Indian, live very differently from the southerners."

(North Spirit Lake, Sandy Lake, p. 2397)

Native people complained that they are not even being informed of exploration activities, let alone consulted in the subsequent development plans:

"The most serious communication problems that we have is when we are not consulted about the plans that are being made for our land. For example, there was a helicopter passing back and forth over North Spirit Lake all last summer and we did not know what it was doing. Finally, we found out from the American tourist owners that the helicopter was looking for minerals on our trapping grounds."

(North Spirit Lake, Sandy Lake, p. 2394)

In general, native people are apprehensive about the benefits to them of future mining developments:

"With regards to future mining developments — for a few years now prospectors have been trespassing across our reserve in order to search for minerals, iron ore, and oil on the old reserve and other land near us.

We have been told that gold has been found and that a mine may be built. Will the people be asked if they want a mine built? We wonder how long the mine will be open. How many persons will work there? Will any of our people be hired? What effect will it have on our community? Will houses be built to accommodate the people? Who will pay for the building of the houses? Will the polluted air coming from the mine's chimneys hurt our health and the health of our wildlife? We wonder how the land will be used after the land is mined out. We feel that the building of a mine will destroy the land in the area, and the pollution from the smoke will destroy our wildlife so that food will not be available to us."

(Barbara Naveau, Timmins, p. 1105)

The mining industry, too, was concerned about the future prospects for the industry in northern Ontario. Repeatedly, there were references to uncertain world markets, unattractive mining taxes, and a range of other issues troubling the industry:

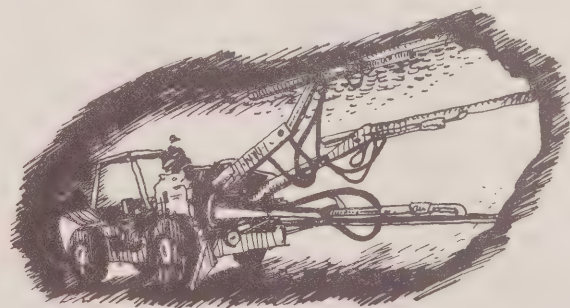
"This total of eight operating mines scattered over a very large area of northern Ontario is in sharp contrast to the situation in 1950, when there were eight active gold mines in the Red Lake area alone in addition to those in other regions of the north. The closing down of so many of these mines and the small number of active operations today in this vast northern area is for the most part the consequence of adverse economic conditions rather than ore depletion. The surviving mines still face the same economic problems, not the least of which are those which traditionally plague remote operations."

(Ontario Mining Association, Timmins, p. 1004)

Exploration activity in northern Ontario in recent years has fallen off for several reasons:

"Exploration in the northern section of the province is of necessity slow and expensive due not only to isolation but also because of the heavy overburden covering much of the land. Unfortunately, modern exploration technology still cannot effectively penetrate much of the thick overburden in this area."

(Ontario Mining Association, Timmins, p. 1004)



Government policies and regulations were also said to be a significant deterrent to the mining industry:

"The decrease in exploration activity has been caused by a combination of the following factors:

- (1) Changes in taxation at both federal and provincial government levels have removed incentives to the mineral industry and have taken a larger portion of taxes from mineral producers.
- (2) Changes in Ontario Securities Commission regulations have impeded the raising of funds for mineral exploration through public financing.
- (3) A lack of clear-cut mineral resource policies at both federal and provincial government levels has created an additional point of uncertainty in an already high risk business.
- (4) Increased environmental standards regarding environmental protection and worker safety and health have greatly increased capital costs."

(Prospectors and Developers Association, Timmins, p. 2343)

Rate of return on investment and insecurity of land tenure were factors affecting the attractiveness of the industry:

"The cost and risks involved in discovering an economically viable mineral deposit have escalated to the point where few will take the risk when secure investments will produce a better financial return. The continued development of mineral resources requires that a financial return be realized compatible with the risk and costs involved... No significant amounts of exploration funds will be expended in an area where there is any doubt that clear title can be obtained to the land on which a mineral discovery is made. We do not intend to take a stand for or against native land claims but wish to stress that the question must be unequivocally resolved if northern development is to proceed."

(Prospectors and Developers Association, Timmins, p. 2342)

Environmental regulation and inflation were also cited as concerns:

"A structural problem which has exacerbated the industry's plight is inflation and environment regulations which have increased the cost of new capacity by a factor of five over the past 15 years. Another problem, which is more prevalent in Ontario, is that most of the easily discovered and readily accessible mines have been found. While many more ore deposits remain, it now costs five times as much to find them as it did during the 1950's."

(Prospectors and Developers Association, Timmins, p. 1181)



Some industry representatives complained about what they saw as overly stringent environmental regulations:

"The pendulum is swinging towards more environmental controls. When a pendulum swings it rarely settles in the centre. We, at Griffith, are fearful that controls will become so unreasonably rigid that industrial growth will be drastically cut and the economy in the area will become stagnant resulting in social as well as economic problems."

(Griffith Mine, Red Lake, p. 685)

Mining tax laws were singled out as being specific disincentives to the industry:

"The graduated mining tax, in our opinion, is inappropriate for operations north of the 50th parallel, and we suggest that this question be considered by the Commission. The present tax structure does not encourage investment — in productive facilities, housing and related facilities — and hence is self-defeating."

(Campbell Red Lake Mines, Red Lake, p. 618)

Many felt that tax laws had more severe implications for the mining industry north of 50 than elsewhere:

"Furthermore, the mines that are situated here are, in the context of the mining industry, small mines. Accordingly, when the dual levels of government commenced oppressive taxation of this industry this area was affected, more so than most regions in the entire country. This effect has been both direct and immediate in reducing the profitability of existing mines and providing even more incentive for marginal mines to close down."

(Red Lake Businessmen's Association, Red Lake, p. 688)

In particular, the 1976 amendment to the Mining Tax Act which disallowed as tax deductions expenditures made by mining corporations for social expenditures, such as recreational facilities was termed:

"... the most pernicious piece of bureaucratic meddling that directly affects this area."

(Red Lake Businessmen's Association, Red Lake, p. 694)

A government spokesman attempted to explain the rationale for this regulation:

"Prior to 1974... operating costs and depreciation and a processing allowance which is deductible year after year without regard to the reduced value of the assets, were allowed for social assets under the Mining Tax Act. Operating costs and depreciation were also deducted under both the federal and provincial corporate income tax systems. In this combined write-off the government was overly generous, it was felt, resulting in the cost of social assets being written off, not only under the Mining Tax Act, but also under the Corporate Tax Act. It was, therefore, decided to disallow the cost of social assets under the Mining Tax Act, as part of an overall package discussed at length with the Ontario Mining Association in 1974. At the same time as that happened, a number of other write-offs and incentives were increased substantially such as the processing allowance and the depreciation of mining assets. I might add too, that at about that time, the Northern Ontario Support Act, a non-conditional grant to municipalities was raised which the government thought was a help to offset the higher cost of providing community facilities in the north. It should be noted too, that the costs of social capital are

still deductible under federal and provincial corporate tax acts, resulting in an almost 50% tax offset.¹"

(Ministry of Treasury, Economics and Intergovernmental Affairs, Timmins, p. 868)

¹The 1978 Ontario budget proposed that operating and maintenance costs of social assets once again be allowed as a deduction, while the depreciation on social assets would continue to be disallowed.

The industry also complained of the uncertainty and confusion of provincial government regulations which control the industry.

"Umex will not develop another mine in northern Ontario under the same regulatory conditions which applied to the Pickle Lake project. And, copper market considerations aside, Umex will not consider expanding its existing operations at Pickle Lake until the rules have been changed, and their application streamlined. If you decide to recommend the prohibition of new mining development north of the 50th parallel, then everyone will know the rules, and will go elsewhere. But if you recognize, as surely you must, that north of the 50th parallel is Ontario's last frontier and that its development for the future must be encouraged, then you should say so, and make the rules for development fair, clear and reasonable. Remember always that miners must go to the ore bodies. There is no alternative in the mining business. There is no other way it can be done."

(Union Miniere Explorations and Mining Corp. Ltd., Pickle Lake, p. 1691)

Local independent prospectors, now a rare breed in northern Ontario, also came forward to express their particular concerns:

"First, trying to obtain risk capital. This is impossible due to government red tape and the cost involved to get a company formed. Second, mining claims. There has been no change in the amount of work required to get a mining claim ready for survey and lease regardless of today's costs. It is still 200 days work and a survey. That is twenty-eight and a half weeks work, seven days a week, or forty weeks. Then comes a survey of \$800 or more. After that we must get a licence to mine this claim and the total cost involved today is approximately \$12,000 on a do-it-yourself basis."

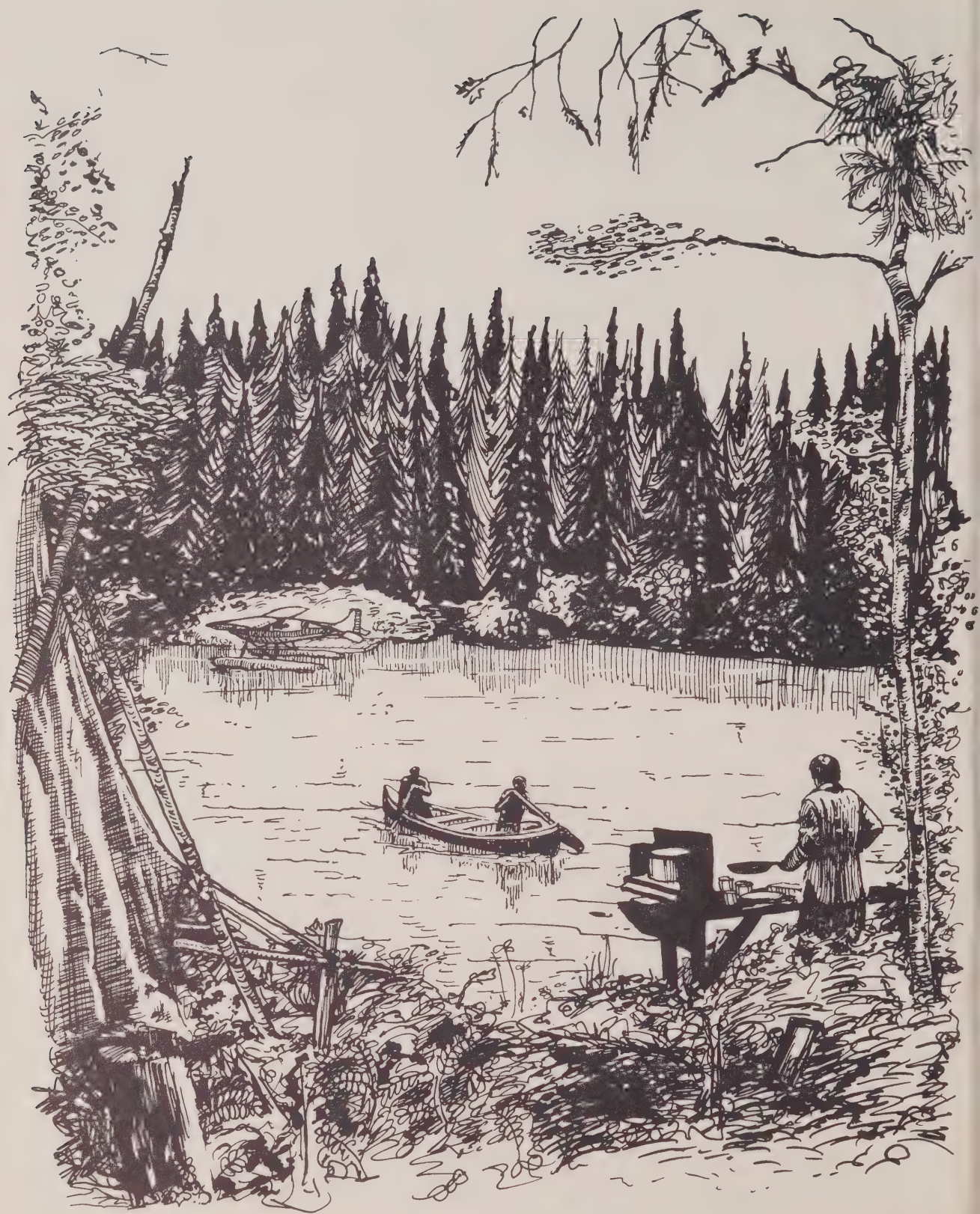
(Walter Thompson, Sioux Lookout, p. 147)

The future of the mining industry in northern Ontario was said to depend on several factors:

- "1. The political, economic and social conditions that affect the viability of the mining operation.
2. The demand for, and price of the north's mineral production in the market.
3. The course of inflation."

(Campbell Red Lake Mines, Red Lake, p. 619)

The economic well-being of the north is closely tied to the future of the mining industry. Many northerners accepted the need for further development but called for controlled development which would, at least, cause no damage and, at best, enhance their social environment.



Tourism – A Saleable Wilderness Experience

Tourism is recognized as a major "industry" in northern Ontario. Its ever-expanding scale presents problems and opportunities for northerners. In addressing the Commission, northerners in the main said that they appreciated the jobs and economic benefits created by tourist enterprises but did not appreciate tourist incursions into their lifestyles and the competition for the resources of the north. Examples of the competition over resources included the case of the commercial fisherman versus that of the sportfisherman, the interests of the timber cutter versus the concerns of the remote campowner, the ardour of the person campaigning for wilderness preservation versus the rationale of the advocate of multiple land use policies.

Increasing Opportunity and Potential Turmoil

"The beauty of this Lake of Woods pervades me."

The above self-chosen epitaph of a journalist who died in 1883¹ might well encapsulate a visitor's feeling for the north. The hypnotic quality of the north, the awesome grandeur of its land, has grown through the years to the extent that tourism has now become one of the largest industries in northern Ontario.

¹J. R. Colombo, ed., *Colombo's Canadian Quotations* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1974), p. 16.

As wilderness resources decrease in the midwestern United States, the attraction of Ontario's north is increasing. Stories are common about tourists; a man who drove from Detroit to north of Red Lake each year to 'bag him a bear', farmers from Iowa who came almost 1,500 miles to catch a 15 lb. walleye, firemen from Oshawa who travelled to the Hudson Bay coast to sit, frost-bitten, shooting geese.

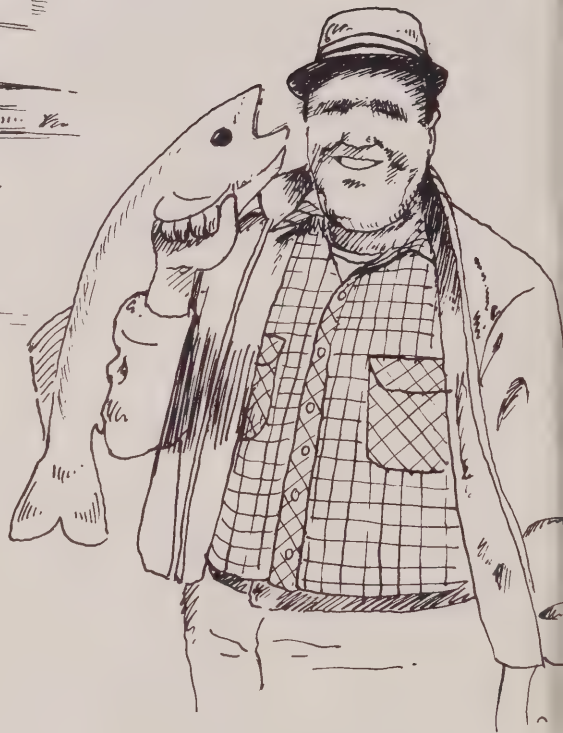
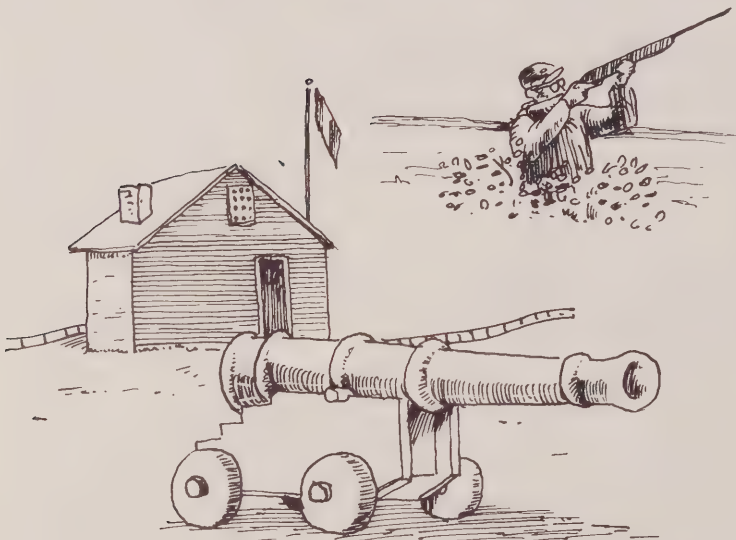
The existence of these tourist facilities in the north has resulted in a holiday experience described by some as "just this side of heaven". Tourism, for those involved in the industry, means hard work over a short 16-week period. Tourism also means an intrusion for some northerners who wish privacy to enjoy the beauty and bounty of their land undisturbed. Derisive comments were heard at the preliminary meetings and resentment was expressed by northerners not involved in the tourist industry. For these people, the northern lexicon has been expanded to include "You alls" or "Yahoos" for Americans and "Prairie Chickens" for Manitobans. Those who bring their camper vans, complete with food and equipment, are labelled "Pork-'n-Beaners".

A strong case on behalf of tourism was also presented to the Commission. Tourism was seen by its supporters as the best way for the north to relieve its dependence on single resource industries. On the other hand, the vulnerability of the tourist industry to a range of competitive factors was stressed. Those directly involved in the tourist industry argued for recognition of its special importance to the northern economy. The tourist industry, they maintained, should be accorded strong protection from conflicts with other land uses.

Tourist operators claimed that forestry and mining roads and destruction of fish and game habitat adversely affected the wilderness and therefore their industry. They also felt that sport fishing should take precedence over commercial fishing rather than the equal division of the resource that is now the case.

Not all northern residents felt so intensely for or against the tourist industry. There was some concern expressed about local interests versus tourism in the use of the land.

Wilderness park proponents joined industry representatives in calling for preservation of the environment and restrictions on access roads. A fine line existed between opening up an area to tourism and destroying its inherent wild qualities. There was no consensus among resident northerners on where this fine line lay.



Wilderness Areas and/or Tourist Services and Facilities

Tourism, as it is understood in the north, involves a broad range of recreational activities, interests and perspectives. The Kenora Publicity Board sees tourism as the manifestation of an innate desire in people for a change of environment.

A tourist's desire for a change in environment might range from a wilderness experience, to a comfortable motel weekend complete with all modern conveniences, from a well-equipped fly-in lodge to a camper-trailer expedition. An industry has grown up to provide a full spectrum of vacation facilities to meet these varying expectations.

Tourism as an industry is an extremely important element of the northern Ontario economy. In some instances at the hearings of the Royal Commission, tourism was described as the third largest industry, after forestry and mining. Others said that in northwestern Ontario it was the second most important industry after forestry.

Whether ranked third, second or first (in the case of Mooseonee it is the primary industry of the area), the importance of tourism was stressed repeatedly. Many saw tourism as the best bet for a more secure future for their area, a chance to diversify from an overwhelming dependence on a single resource industry.

The town of Kapuskasing felt this way:

"Our future lies in tourism. With energy costs escalating rapidly and with the devaluation of the dollar, we will see more of our American friends vacationing in this part of Ontario. The overall investment in the tourist industry is comparatively less than for other industry and provides a good return — it is our best bet for the future in removing our total dependence on single resource based industries."

(Town of Kapuskasing, Timmins, p. 878)

In Kenora, tourism is seen in a similar light:

"In our view this industry (tourism) probably provides us our greatest future potential. Tourism is an industry which provides the great opportunity for individuals to develop small businesses which are labour intensive and thus offer great employment opportunities."

(Kenora and District Chamber of Commerce, Kenora, p. 3070)

An indication of the magnitude of the tourist industry was offered by the Kenora Publicity Board:

"In Kenora specifically, tourism directly supports 521

hotel rooms, 21 gas stations, 38 restaurants and take-out facilities, 7 china and gift shops, 8 souvenir shops, 9 sport, bait and tackle shops, and 4 airlines, not to mention all the outlying resorts. And perhaps now you can see how tourism affects the lives of each and every one of us in the north, and why we rank it as one of our major industries.

(Publicity Board of Kenora, Kenora, p. 2934)

The Northern Ontario Tourist Outfitters Association was concerned with the "lack of a tourism-oriented profile" at the hearings, stressing the fact that tourism is, and has been for many years, a mainstay of the northern economy.

(Northern Ontario Tourist Outfitters Association, Toronto, p. 1984)

The Kenora District Campowners Association emphasized the labour intensive nature of the industry:

"They (tourism in general and the outfitting business in particular) are the second largest source of income in northwestern Ontario; the largest employer of native people, the largest employer of student labour, and the largest employer of unskilled workers in the Kenora District."

(Kenora District Campowners Association, Kenora, p. 2718)

Nevertheless, in spite of the significance of the tourist industry to the northern economy, the industry is experiencing a number of problems which it feels are restricting or inhibiting its success. Some of these are factors beyond the control of the industry, such as the high cost of gasoline:

"The majority of people who visit northwestern Ontario come by private automobile. The cost of gasoline in this part of the province is too high in comparison to southern Ontario, Manitoba or the United States. It is detrimental to tourism, causing resentment in the attitudes of the tourists who simply cannot understand why the price is so high. The distances travelled in the north are just as great for the tourists as they are for the residents. We have room within the provincial tax structure to allow for a tax concession on gas prices in order to lower the price paid. This in itself would certainly have a positive effect on the tourist industry as well as the residents of northwestern Ontario."

(Kenora District Campowners Association, Kenora, p. 2720)

In addition, the general state of the economy is having a detrimental effect on tourism. The Moosonee Board of Trade described the situation:

"In this area, it (tourism) is our one major industry... For our major source of revenue, other than government money, we are dependent on the whims of a public whose resources are dwindling yearly."

(Moosonee Board of Trade, Moosonee, p. 3164)

In Moosonee, it was recognized that something was required to stimulate and retain the interest of tourists who ventured north on the Polar Bear Express. As it is, tourists generally spend about four and a half hours in Moosonee before setting off on the return trip:

"It is recognized by virtually everyone in Moosonee and Moose Factory that before tourists will want to remain overnight and explore the region that the native resources must be developed and made available to the consuming public. However, local input is crucial to the success of any such development... As matters now stand, the native population reaps little of the financial gain generated by the tourist trade and hence have little interest in accommodating the tourist. The native peoples feel exploited as though they themselves are on display."

(James Bay Education Centre, Moosonee, p. 3129)

Besides more active involvement of native people in the tourist industry, other suggestions for tourist attractions included an Interpretative Centre and a zoo:

"For example, a wildlife park or zoo set in its natural environment, would go a long way towards satisfying the expectations of many tourists who venture to Moosonee on the Polar Bear Express to see not only a moose but also a polar bear, although it would be noted that polar bears are not indigenous to the Moosonee—Moose Factory area and the Moose River is not the Arctic Ocean."

(James Bay Education Centre, Moosonee, p. 3129)

Even in the northwest where attracting visitors is not a problem, the Kenora Publicity Board stressed the vulnerability of the tourist industry to a whole range of factors:

"Even though the tourist industry has witnessed a relatively steady growth pattern in this area, it remains the most vulnerable and fragile of industries in the region. Everything from the pricing of food, fuel and accommodation, to the threat of Quebec separating from Canada, to presidential elections in the U.S., have had dramatic effects on the local tourism industry."

(Publicity Board of Kenora, Kenora, p. 2931)

Not least of the limitations on tourism is its seasonal nature:

"The major problem we have with tourism is that at the present it is primarily summer-oriented. Somehow, we must find a way to develop this beautiful area in the winter. This would tend to provide us with a base for year-round employment."

(Publicity Board of Kenora, Kenora, p. 2931)

The Kenora District Campowners Association complained that the naturally imposed season was further shortened by government restrictions:

"In the tourist business we are limited as to when we can open and when we must close our camps by physical factors such as break-up in the spring and freeze-up in the fall. The farther north you go, the shorter the season. Our season is further shortened by legislative restrictions and some of these restrictions, which we cannot control result in financial hardships, both to the campowner, his employees and the suppliers of tourist-oriented goods and services in the north. The shortening of (hunting and fishing) seasons is only one management tool for our fish and wildlife—certainly the most economical for government, but also the most costly for the tourist industry in northern Ontario."

(Kenora District Campowners Association, Kenora, p. 2720)

The campowners also felt strongly that another government policy, with respect to the fish resource, does not fully recognize either the needs of the economic importance of the tourist industry. This is the policy by which the fish resource is divided up between the commercial fishing industry and sport fishermen:

"Sports fishing is the primary tourist attraction in northwestern Ontario, so it is vitally important that we maintain good sports fishing. However, this valuable resource is still being commercially fished. For example, there is a disparity on Lake of the Woods in that 50% of the annual harvest is taken by commercial fishermen and 50% by residents and tourist anglers. However, according to statistics, the tourist industry is providing 18 more jobs (mostly native and local people), 64 times more revenue and 95 times more tax revenue—yet the resource is divided equally."

(Kenora District Campowners Association, Kenora, p. 2721)

The tourist operators felt therefore that wherever the fish resource appears limited, sport fishing should take precedence over commercial fishing. Needless to say, the commercial fishermen are vehemently opposed to the tourist operators on this and accuse the "American-dominated campowners" of trying to influence the Ministry of Natural Resources.

(Northwestern Commercial Fisheries Federation, Kenora, p. 2525)

The commercial fishermen are not the only ones who do not share the tourist industry's view of its importance and virtue. For some it is simply a question of resenting the presence of strangers whoever they may be. A retired Ministry of Natural Resources employee living in Kenora expressed what many local residents feel about tourists:

"Some jurisdictions are high on tourism as a real winner. My observation is that apart from outfitters and merchants the permanent residents do not appreciate seeing strangers at their favourite fishing, camping and hunting grounds. So we had better make up our mind before we start enticing strangers to our gate. Do we want the "yahoos" and the "prairie chickens" which is a local term for Americans and Manitobans? Do we want them or do we just want their money?"

(Ted Hall, Kenora, p. 2847)

This raises an issue which appeared to be a contentious one all round, that of access roads and their impact on the tourist industry. Those campowners and tourist outfitters who thrived on the remoteness of the facilities they had to offer perceived access roads, mainly constructed by the forest industry, as a threat to their continued operation. However, some local residents resented the tourist industry's attitudes in this respect. A Dryden resident posed three questions for the Commission:

"1. Why would the campowners assume that having a licence for a fly-in camp on a lake of the size described gives them exclusive rights to the use of such lake?"

"2. Are the campowners also suggesting that fly-in campowners should have full control of vast areas around or leading to such lake?"

"3. Are these camps owned by Canadian citizens?"

(Walter Popiel, Red Lake, p. 548)

He went on to suggest that most tourists are Americans who don't stay at tourist resorts, who do not hire the services of a guide and who bring with them all of the food, gasoline and other supplies that they require.

Many residents seemed to feel that the hunting and fishing paradise proclaimed by the tourist industry should be primarily for the use and enjoyment of local residents. The Northwestern Ontario Associated Chambers of Commerce identified this dilemma:

"Tourism — conflict between attraction of outside tourist for tourist dollars against preservation and restriction for use for local recreation."

(Northwestern Ontario Associated Chambers of Commerce, Sioux Lookout, p. 144)

In fact, the Ministry of Natural Resources' Northwestern Ontario-Strategic Land Use Plan — Phase II has determined that day-use recreation by the people of northwestern Ontario is of higher priority than tourist development. Both the Nakina Tourist Area Outfitters and the Thunder Bay Chamber of Commerce were disturbed by this priority allocation. The latter stated that:

"Again, it would appear that this attitude has developed from the misconception that tourism is merely a luxury and is not to be given any priority as a major industry."

(Thunder Bay Chamber of Commerce, Kenora, p. 3031)

Whether or not tourism is a luxury, there was a certain amount of hostility expressed over the tourist outfitters' emphasis on remote fly-in operations, which must be safeguarded from the easy accessibility of roads.

The Kenora Paper Mill Unions Federated Committee argued that:

"The accessibility to the hunting and fishing areas have been primarily brought about by the logging industry. They have opened up the areas so that the ordinary citizen can have easy access to the game and fish. A wilderness or restricted non-accessible area does not allow the ordinary individual with limited income, to have access to the fish and game. These restricted areas are available only to the rich and the more fortunate."

(Kenora Paper Mill Unions Federated Committee, Kenora, p. 2586)

The outfitters attempted to meet this charge of elitism:

"We have few of these remote recreation areas left. Let us protect them! 'Remote' does not mean inaccessible to the general public. These areas can be reached by the sportsmen who wish to work a little harder paddling a canoe, or portaging, if they don't wish to fly-in to the outfitters' facilities. Their extra effort is usually well rewarded."

(Nakina Tourist Outfitters, Nakina, p. 1492)

Despite the fact that the outfitters feel threatened by access roads opening up their territory it was pointed out by some that without the northward push of roads the area would never have been opened at all. Among these was the Dryden District Chamber of Commerce:

"Tourism plays a major role as one of our primary industries in this area. Any development, be it industry or transportation can, in our submission, only benefit tourism."

(Dryden District Chamber of Commerce, Dryden, p. 380)

The fine line between benefit and disadvantage was particularly evident in this statement by an Ear Falls resident:

"After the Red Lake Road was built the country opened up for tourist trade and has become an industry of prime importance to the area. I feel this will slowly vanish in this area as more roads are pushed further north. There are more and more aircraft being used each year to transport fishermen and hunters into more remote areas... Sioux Lookout years ago was the big area until the Red Lake Road opened up new country and now this area is not far enough north to meet the tourists' needs. If this lucrative tourist trade is to survive, in my opinion, more roads to the north will have to be built. Roads come with mining and lumbering development."

(Frederick Bergman, Ear Falls, p. 785)

If the tourist trade is pushing ever northward what of the campowner who is located in the no longer remote area?

"Remoteness no longer exists and the clientele of the outfitters find other areas which satisfy their requirements. The plane, buildings, and equipment, all become redundant. The business can't be sold, for who will buy a business with no clientele? The sportsman can move on but all that is left for the commercial operator is the garbage. He cannot pick up his sizeable investment and move on."

(Nakina Tourist Outfitters, Nakina, p. 1492)

As the Kenora District Campowners Association put it:

"A lake without a road to it is a non-renewable resource."

(Kenora District Campowners Association, Kenora, p. 2722)

In this concern to maintain a wilderness environment, inaccessible by road and unaffected by logging operations, the campowners and tourist outfitters are joined by the proponents of wilderness parks. The Mantario Wilderness Committee spoke about the need to preserve a wilderness area from approaching roads:

"The experience with secondary roads has not been happy. All you have to do is look at the litter pile, the excessive use of all-terrain vehicles, including snowmobiles, to see what can happen: wholesale fish slaughter, littering very often following. And what are the economic benefits? Well, we think that the tourist trade with a bit of imagination can have a much more lucrative, long-range business by preserving the

country. It is in their interest to conserve, and attracting people from all over the world, because, as I mentioned before, with this growing urban population, the need for a place where people can get away from junk, get away from noise of motors and just hear the sounds of nature, is going to grow and grow and grow."

(Mantario Wilderness Society, Kenora, p. 3053)

However, these wilderness supporters foresee a non-intensive form of recreation/tourism which would not necessarily include the present model of the fly-in camp:

"Canoe outfitting has a much lower break-even point; it is more labour intensive and of much more local benefit than a type of tourist operation that relies on, say, aircraft with a high fixed expenditure of funds that are largely exported from the country."

(Mantario Wilderness Society, Kenora, p. 3053)

Another group dedicated to the creation of a wilderness park, the Atikaki Council, faced strong opposition from a local population which interpreted their proposal as threatening the economic base of its community. Atikaki's proposal¹ was met with hostile response from Ontario-Minnesota Pulp and Paper Co. which claimed that such a wilderness preserve would undermine the company's timber base to the extent that it would be forced to close down. The Atikaki Council rejected these charges saying that:

"We are not anti-development, we are non-political, we have no personal involvement other than a love for the land. Our one purpose, our dream is that a portion of this region can be set aside as wilderness, so that our children can also experience its beauty, strength and solitude."

(Atikaki Council, Kenora, p. 2974)

¹The Atikaki proposal is a plan put forward by conservationists to establish a wilderness park stretching across the Ontario-Manitoba border. The wilderness area would encompass 4,950 square miles.

The Atikaki people also denied that their proposal would result in a loss in jobs:

"The area contested with Ontario-Minnesota Pulp and Paper Co. could only cost less than 20 jobs—jobs which would be more than made up for in a wilderness park."

(Atikaki Council, Kenora, p. 2982)

The National and Provincial Parks Association urged the Commission to consider wilderness as a valid land use option and pointed out that:

"One needs only to examine tourist promotion literature of government and private groups to know that wilderness in Ontario is one of our most valuable natural resources."

(National and Provincial Parks Association, Sioux Lookout, p. 190)

One thing that joins together wilderness proponents, camp operators, tourist outfitters, and sportsmen, is a concern that the environment be maintained and protected:

"Tourism and the recreation paradise is all part of the great resources that we have in our lakes, rivers and streams. We cannot afford pollution or bad management of these resources."

(Northern Ontario Heritage Party, Timmins, p. 1022)

Without a healthy environment, the fish and wildlife would not exist. Northern Ontario Tourist Outfitters Association emphasized this:

"The bases of the outfitter's operation are the renewable natural resources of fish and game. The survival of the outfitter depends on the continuance of these resources. He is, understandably, concerned with the quality of environment and the preservation of habitat that is essential to the resources on which business is based... Conservation (wise use) of our fish and game populations can only be managed if the quality of environment is maintained and even improved in some areas."

(Northern Ontario Tourist Outfitters Association, Toronto, p. 1987)

The Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters is an organization of sportsmen dedicated to conservation and sound environmental management. They are concerned that development has not been based on environmental concerns, which has resulted in pollution problems detrimental to fish and wildlife:

"The socio-economic environment, while every Federation member may enjoy its benefits and desires to see it maintained, has been given a lower priority by our members in the sense that we are conservationists, we are environmentalists and we are concerned with that priority and that value. Development will take care of itself, we are quite sure."

(Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters, Timmins, p. 1044)

They expressed particular concern about sulphur dioxide (SO₂) fallout from smelting operations, which is hastening the acidification of northern lakes and is especially hazardous to lake trout. Attention was also

drawn to the current debate on clearcutting as a harvesting technique, which is seen to be particularly disruptive of moose populations:

"All the while clear-out harvesting continues when it is known that this is not the way to harvest for food, forest and game management."

(Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters, Timmins, p. 1049)

Most dramatically, mercury pollution of the English-Wabigoon River system has had serious impacts on the tourist industry in that area because of mercury contaminated fish. Although the river has remained open to sport fishing, several lodges have closed voluntarily and many tourists have avoided the area.

To the native people for whom guiding was a major source of employment, the closing of lodges has been a serious economic blow. The Commission was told that those who have continued working as guides for the surviving lodges face the dilemma of eating fish at the famous shore lunches or declining to do so at the risk of losing their jobs.¹ The whole region, not just those waterbodies affected by mercury, has been plagued by adverse publicity.

¹In April 1978 Whitedog and Grassy Narrows reached an agreement with the Kenora District Campowners Association and the Ontario government under which 50 extra fishing guides would be hired from each reserve this summer. Lodge owners will provide the Indian guides with box lunches.

Perhaps the most poignant statement with respect to tourism in the north came from a resident of Dryden who said:

"This last bit of wilderness is priceless, and can never be replaced. It sickens me to think that I am going to have to tell my children how life was in northern Ontario, rather than having a chance to share it with them. My suggestion to you is to advertise and encourage tourists to come back to the area, perhaps promote it so that the sportsman comes back. With the proper program the wildlife and fish could be perpetual. I feel that development in the north should be restricted to developing the area enough only to gain further and easier access to our large northern regions."

(Doug Miranda, Red Lake, p. 546)

Clearly a fine line exists between opening up a region judiciously so that visitors can appreciate its "wildness" and beauty and opening an area insensitively so that the wild quality is destroyed. It was equally clear that that fine line was not the same to all parties who spoke to the Commission.

ISSUES



A Background Paper
on Behalf of
The Royal Commission
on the Northern
Environment.

Chapter

3

Economic Realities In An Untamed Land

	Page
Effective Planning	
The Wisest Choice	91
What The Land Provides	
Traditional Pursuits	93
Agriculture	
A Neglected Industry North Of 50.....	99
Wild Rice	
A Route To Economic Self-Sufficiency	103
Land Use	
Conflict Over Priorities	108

The bracketed notations following the quotations identify the individual or organization making the presentation before the Commission, site of the preliminary hearing, and the page number in the transcript where the quotation may be found.

Chapter 3

ECONOMIC REALITIES IN AN UNTAMED LAND

Native people on many occasions before the Royal Commission expressed most eloquently their fears that large-scale development could destroy their traditional economic pursuits and culture. They favoured planning which would protect their wildlife, their wild rivers and their wild crops.

Meeting the needs of Indians and their communities is crucial to future resource development in northern Ontario. There are also the needs of non-native people who are able to live in the north because of development. These, too, merit recognition in their own right.

Because of greater public awareness and interest throughout the province, the stage is better set today for wise planning of the use of Ontario's land to best serve, through intelligent accommodation, the hopes and aspirations of the people of the north.

—Mr. Justice E. P. Hartt

Effective Planning—The Wisest Choice

A FLIGHT OVER ONTARIO would convince any visitors that the north is not all paper mills and gold mines. Also important are those economic activities which relate more directly to human needs and to the land. These include farming, hunting, fishing, trapping and wild rice harvesting.

Native people related to the Commission how they continue to follow their traditional pursuits and how their lives revolve around them. Other northerners acknowledged the significance of hunting, fishing, trapping and wild rice harvesting to the native people. They agreed that such individual or communal initiatives should not be restricted or ended by other resource developments.

In referring to the then Reed Ltd. interest in harvesting timber north of 50, many people voiced their fears that traplines in the 19,000 square mile area affected by the Reed Ltd. proposal could be destroyed by the harvesting.

Many native people believed that the interests of large industries inevitably would win out over those of the individual trapper, should there be conflict.

On another subject of economic interest, native people, in a number of submissions, stressed the importance to them of their near-monopoly in harvesting wild rice. Wild rice, they pointed out, was not only a major source of cash income in some areas, but also of social and cultural significance.

In inviting the Royal Commission to consider each economic pursuit in the north as valuable, effective planning of land and resource uses emerged in the hearings as the wisest possible course for avoiding damaging conflicts and harmful development.



What The Land Provides — Traditional Pursuits

Native people told the Commission how their economic and cultural survival depend upon their traditional pursuits of hunting, fishing, trapping, wild rice harvesting, and berry picking. Individuals and band leaders emphasized the importance and vitality of these activities. The economic, social, cultural and spiritual virtues of the traditional economy were compared and weighed against the benefits and costs of large-scale resource development in the north of Ontario. The best of both worlds was an expressed aim of those recognizing the need for development.

Conservation and Sharing — The Basis for Legends

Native legends often employ animals as story-telling symbols to help shed light on universal principles of nature and human behaviour. Those told in northern Ontario do help both native and non-native listener understand the Indian vision of the world, how native people see and use the land, what they know and fear about development.

An old Ojibway legend related to the Royal Commission speaks of a time long ago. The legend, the Commission was told, contains the essence of the Ojibway philosophy, the dependence of men and animals upon the land and respect for all that the land provides.

According to this legend, the rose once grew abundantly in the homeland of the Ojibway. There were roses of brilliant colours and infinite shades. So lovely was their fragrance that it made the bear dance and the hummingbird flutter its wings. So plentiful were the roses, and so faithfully did they blossom each spring, that the Anishnawbe began to take them for granted and sang no more songs praising them. Then one summer the number of roses decreased and their colour faded. The next year the rosebushes were even smaller, their growth stunted, the blossoms smaller and not as beautiful as before. But while the roses diminished in extent and beauty, the rabbits grew plentiful and healthy.

The Indian people dimly perceived that something was wrong, but were not sure what it was. It all happened in subtle quietness, while the Anishnawbe were busy hunting, trapping and building wigwams. In the meantime, the bee complained, the hummingbird was hungry and the bear grew thin and its flesh became tough and stringy. There was not enough honey for man and bear, nor was the honey as delicious as it had been in previous times. Indeed, all the creatures of the land were touched.

A great meeting was called, and everyone invited. After long speeches of sadness about the plight of the roses, the assembly sent forth the hummingbird to look for a single rose. For a week, the bird flew, searching. Finally, it found one solitary rose clinging to the side of a cliff. The hummingbird brought the flower back to the meeting where, with care, the spiritual leaders revived the rose. Then the flower told them: "The rabbits, they ate all the roses."

The inhabitants of Anishnawbe country were furious. The bears, wolves and lynxes caught the rabbits and beat them until their ears were stretched and their mouths split open. At this point, the rose pleaded: "Stop. Our destruction was your fault too. If you had cared and watched, if you had not been so unconcerned, we would have continued to prosper. Let the rabbits be."

The rabbits were released, and though their wounds healed, they have carried the scars of their intemperance ever since. With time, the roses slowly were revived but they have yet to regain the power and glory of that earlier day. The fabled teacher and helper of the Ojibway, Nanabush, provided the rose with thorns to protect it in the future. And to the Anishnawbe, the wise teacher said: "Always remember, the plants of the land were here first, and they are the source of all animal life. Neglect them and you will perish too."

The Commission was told legends like this had been narrated for years to native children to teach them respect for nature and the need to live in harmony with the land.

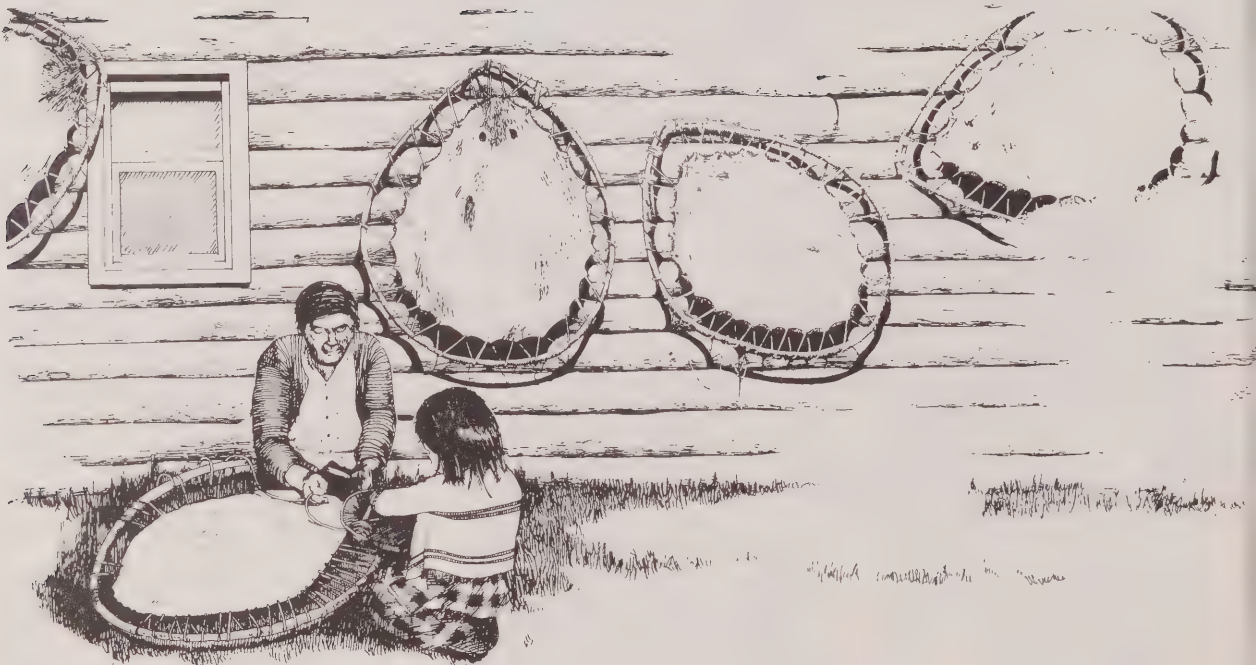
The moral drawn for the Commission was that people should take only what they need from Mother Earth and share these necessities with each other.

Many native people attempted to convey to Justice Hartt the hard work involved in reaping the resource harvests that sustained them. What some non-native people alluded to as muskeg and wasteland was described by native people as a bountiful land, a gift from the Great Spirit.

"Until the Great Spirit changes his plans, I will not let go of this land."

(Whitehead Moose, Sandy Lake, p. 2478)

It is this spiritual tie that causes the land to be so revered by the native people of Ontario north of 50.



"The Bush"—Food, Medicine and Spiritual Strength

By bush activities, northerners mean their harvesting the natural abundance of the land. The Commission heard descriptions of many bush activities such as trapping, hunting, fishing, berry picking, collecting wood and the gathering of wild rice.

The products of many bush activities are often consumed by the harvester rather than sold for cash or traded for goods. Their value does not always appear in the dollar estimates of economic achievements in the north. As the Ontario Trappers Association pointed out:

"We must not overlook the fact of the consumption of the meat of the animals. A recent survey conducted by the Ministry of Natural Resources showed that the replacement value of meat eaten by the trapper from the species of beaver, lynx and muskrat amounted to over 2.5 million dollars per year."

(Ontario Trappers Association, Timmins, p. 1215)

Undoubtedly these products are vital to many:

"When the Great Spirit made the Indian he gave the Indian everything in this earth that he needed to survive. He gave him the forest. The forest shelters the animals. The forest shelters my fellow men. The forest keeps my children warm. It keeps my people healthy."

(Chief Ben Quill, Sandy Lake, p. 2454)

Some Indian people spoke of a relationship between health and bush food:

"I can't live on the white man's food. I eat chicken and beef, but it doesn't give me strength. Because the Creator gave me the wild animals to sustain me, I relate to them. I was raised to be in harmony with them, both physically and mentally. I can't relate to a tin can. If you rob me of my source of strength, you rob me of my source of life."

(Fred Meekis, Sandy Lake, p. 2438)

And the intuitive answer gains support from scientific findings:

"Health and nutrition studies . . . in northern Canada . . . have shown . . . all Arctic and subArctic populations secured in their traditional diets all the essential nutrients, minerals and vitamins . . . Poor nutrition is responsible at least in part for many of the stereotyped characteristics of Indians: these being shiftlessness, indolence and inertia. This decline in health has been linked . . . to a deteriorating diet of the bush Indians . . . The increased use of store food is the cause of this deterioration."

(University of Waterloo, Department of Man-Environment Studies, Toronto, p. 1975)

What the Commission came to appreciate through listening to the native people was the extent to which the land is still used for what they call "traditional pursuits." The bush provides food, medicine and spiritual strength to those whose life still revolves around the bush:

"The bush is important for far more than food . . . We get medicines and find they are a lot better for us than the medicines that we get from the nurses."

(Chief Ben Quill, Red Lake, p. 647)

There was much discussion and varying views at the hearings about bush activities; how extensive they were, what the impact on them of large-scale resource development had been, and what people feared would happen in the future:

"In Ear Falls, Justice Hartt, you heard that we do not use the land anymore. But this is not true. In the month of November to December 1977, we trapped 1,032 beaver, 268 mink, 174 marten, 39 otters, 115 fishers and 81 lynx, and this is not a complete count. Over 40 families earned about \$70,000.00. Last summer, the people of Pikangikum and Poplar Hill caught 130,000 pounds of fish, worth almost \$100,000.00. Last fall, we collected about 2,000 pounds of wild rice worth \$1,600.00 to us and at least \$10,000.00 to the trader. Eighty per cent of the families of Pigangikum Band trap and 50 per cent fish. Only 36 people have full-time jobs. The land is important. The land is our life."

(Chief Ben Quill, Sandy Lake, p. 2454)

Trapping is an important bush activity in the north:

"Ontario is the largest producer of wild fur in all of Canada. Ontario's production exceeded an estimated \$11 million worth of wild fur in the year 1976-77, which makes up approximately one-quarter of Canada's entire production. Northern Ontario produced approximately 14 per cent of Ontario's harvest of a total estimated value of \$1,471,118.00."

(Ontario Trappers Association, Timmins, p. 1214)

Without estimating the future potential for trapping in the northern half of Ontario, the Ontario Trappers Association stated that:

"We must exercise great caution in developing the north so as not to disturb the balance of nature, and to ensure a healthy animal population which will enable the native and northern trapper to maintain his culture, heritage and to insure that he has the opportunity to continue as his ancestors did in their way of life."

(Ontario Trappers Association, Timmins, p. 1216)

For some communities fishing is the economic mainstay:

"Commercial fishing is the main part of our economy . . . Not only do we sell to outside fish markets, but it acts as the staple food for our families . . . In the year 1976, fish sold was 361,044 pounds. In 1977, the total amount sold by all the communities fishing was 535,000 pounds."

(North Caribou Lake Band, Osnauburgh, p. 1839)

Treaty #3 also stressed the importance of fishing:

"There are 14 commercial fishing licences issued to the Indian bands or Indian people on Lake of the Woods. The income from the walleye fishery constitutes a major proportion of cash income to these people and substantially supports the communities at Shoal Lake and Big Grassy."

(Treaty # 3, Kenora, p. 2868)

Understandably, those who derive their livelihood from fishing and trapping fear anything that would disrupt or diminish their harvest:

"We make our living by commercial fishing. We have fished for 29 summers and we want this to continue. We don't want it to be stopped by water pollution or anything else that might kill our fish. We also make our living by trapping, and our young people grow up being taught, and learning how to trap. Our plea is that this will continue, and that the wildlife and game will not die out because someone kills the forests, or does anything else that will cause the wildlife to become rare. No one in our village (MacDowell Lake) is on welfare, and we want to keep it that way."

(Magnus James, Sandy Lake, p. 2427)

Fear of development, as it has occurred in the past, of pollution and clear cutting of the forest ran through a number of submissions to the Commission:

"I know the animals in the bush and I want to tell you what will happen if Reed cuts down the bush and if the rivers are dammed. If a large area of bush is cut down, the land animals would disappear. They would open spaces and it is so cold in the winter and so hot in the summer . . . If they cut down the trees the beaver will go . . . If you find the land is flooded you won't find beaver or muskrat . . . The fish can't live if the water is polluted or where there is a dam."

(Chief Ben Quill, Red Lake, p. 646)

The people feared the loss of the animals and fish upon which they depend:

"If you destroy the trees by cutting them to make a

road for the pipeline or to make paper for the Americans, you will destroy the animals. You will destroy the land. We cannot allow this to happen."

(North Spirit Lake Band, Sandy Lake, p. 2396)

A non-native trapper who spoke to the Commission at Sioux Lookout expressed concern that Reed Ltd. might be given cutting rights to 19,000 square miles:

"That is in an area that comprises in number about 300 trapping grounds and as far as I can see if they are cut, then these 300 trapping grounds are gone down the drain."

(Wilf Wingenroth, Sioux Lookout, p. 151)

Not only the animals, but the fish, have suffered as a result of development and industrial pollution:

"We have seen sturgeon fishing areas destroyed with wood fibre from the pulp mills. We have tasted the phenol-contaminated fish from Clay Lake and Rainy River and become sick from eating them. And we have also eaten the mercury-contaminated fish from the English-Wabigoon River system, and the world knows the result of that."

(Treaty # 3, Kenora, p. 2871)

Those people who have experienced the devastation of mercury pollution told the Commission of its effects:

"Mercury has caused us untold unhappiness because of its effects on our way of life. In 1970, quite without warning, and because of mercury pollution, commercial fishing was banned on our river system. For us this was not simply a loss of economic livelihood. It represented the loss of our lifestyle . . . Family life revolved around commercial fishing, year in and year out. Now this is gone. Gone too is much of the guiding . . . Mercury has also meant for many of us the loss of our normal food source. To eat the fish is to eat poison, yet for years, indeed centuries, we have lived off this fish."

(Anti-Mercury Ojibway Group, Whitedog, p. 2820)

It is not only the forest industry which has disturbed the livelihood of those dependent on the land. Mining has also made itself felt:

"But now, our riches are disappearing. We can't hunt and trap like we used to; there are too many surveyors and prospectors around the traplines. They stay all summer and part of the winter. We know they have been there by the tin cans and refuse they have left behind. They don't even allow time for the animals to return to the area before somebody else comes along. The number of animals I can bring in has been greatly reduced."

(Fred Meekis, Sandy Lake, p. 2438)

Another form of development which has seriously disrupted the land has been hydroelectric projects. Damage has occurred during the construction of dams and the resultant flooding:

"They (the white men) seem to have no respect for nature . . . One of the things that is a threat to the fish and animals is the dams."

(North Caribou Lake Band, Osnaburgh, p. 1833)

The Whitedog Band has felt particularly affected by these developments. As one member described the situation to the Commission:

"Hydro's 'industrial development' only served to flood the lands of one of our reserves, One Man Lake, including homes, hunting and trapping grounds, fishing and wild rice areas, and graveyards. Hydro's so-called 'industrial development' only served to destroy a large part of our lifestyle and our security."

(Anthony Henry, Whitedog, p. 2800)

Sometimes, developments built in the north by southerners seem to overlook the value to northerners of the land and future harvests. It is this lack of concern for the long-term values of residents in an area which native people in particular find so incomprehensible:

"In 1955, the federal government of Canada decided to build a radar base in Winisk . . . the area they chose . . . was a very special spot for us; there were all kinds of berries: blueberries, cranberries, strawberries and gooseberries. There was also a burial ground . . . The bulldozers came in and destroyed everything. Our winter lodge was demolished . . . so that the radar base could be built. After ten years, the government decided to close the base. All of the white men went home, but they left so much destruction behind them."

(Winisk Band, Moose Factory, p. 3254)

In some disputes over how resources should be used, the Ministry of Natural Resources finds itself in the role of arbiter. Its response has been, in part, to formulate rules and regulations.

For some northerners, general rules caused frustration when they did not respond to local realities:

" . . . my father received a letter from the Ministry of Natural Resources stating that he had not caught his quota given by that department and they wanted to take the trapline from him . . . However, the letter never mentioned the fact that the Abitibi Paper Company was clear cutting the land in that area . . . When they do this, the animals all move because they have no protection from harsh weather and their feeding grounds have been destroyed."

(Ange Veilleux, Geraldton, p. 1435)

Native people find it difficult to understand why they should have to adhere to regulations governing activities in which they have always been involved. To them, their rights to pursue these activities are guaranteed in the treaties:

"Not long after the treaty, the Department of Lands and Forests, now known as the Ministry of Natural Resources, approached our people and chained them into a regulations prison. In this prison they were told that they could kill only a limited number of animals, trap only a handful of furbearing species and fish only up to a limit that was in the department's regulations. On top of all this, our people were told that they could not hunt, fish or trap without a licence."

(Wunnumin Lake Band, Osnaburgh, p. 1886)

The Commission was told that the ministry's recent announcements on fishing licences were a source of particular frustration to native people who depend on this resource:

"The provincial government has come up with conclusions which mean drastic cutbacks for the Indian fishermen of Shoal Lake and Lake of the Woods. These fishermen and their forefathers have taken fish from these lakes for centuries, and they totally disagree with the so-called facts as established by the magical Morpheodaphic Index. Who is to be believed? Who are the experts? . . . If the Ministry of Natural Resources is in error with its productivity estimates and their cherished index is indeed wrong, then they are imposing economic catastrophe on my people . . . The government is allocating our fishing resources for the needs of the anglers at a tremendous cost to the commercial fisherman."

(Treaty # 3, Kenora, p. 2867)

Robin Greene, Chief of Shoal Lake, told the Commission how the new quotas would affect his people:¹

"The letter (from the Ministry of Natural Resources) stated that commercial fishing quotas would be imposed beginning January 1st of this year. For 1978, the maximum catch of our pickerel under all five commercial fishing licences on Shoal Lake will be 68,000 pounds. We believe this means one-fifth of 68,500 or 13,700 pounds under one licence this year. The drop from 258,000 pounds in 1977 to 13,700 pounds in 1978, a cut of 95%, will destroy our commercial fishing industry. And in years following the 1978 quota is to be further reduced. Under this drastic pressure we have been forced to take direct action. We will not stand by and be driven into welfare. We have been fishing the Shoal Lake area for longer than anyone can remember, and we are careful never to fish it out."

(Treaty # 3, Kenora, p. 2901)

¹On May 17, 1978, the Ministry of Natural Resources announced that it would delay for one year the quotas that it had previously set for Shoal Lake.

Not everyone was critical of the Ministry of Natural Resources' role in managing resources, however, and the Ontario Trappers Association had words of praise for the ministry's efforts in increasing the number of furbearers:

"According to our statistics there are more furbearing animals in Ontario now than when the white man first came to Ontario . . . This is the result of joint efforts of the Ministry of Natural Resources and the Ontario Trappers Association in developing a true conservation policy over the past 25 years."

(Ontario Trappers Association, Timmins, p. 1211)

On the other hand:

"The people in Ottawa and Toronto sit in their offices making regulations and policies and yet they do not have a clear idea of how the people in the north live and how things really stand. They do not ask the Indian people first for their opinions."

(North Caribou Lake Band, Osnaburgh, p. 1830)

Groups, such as the Northwestern Commercial Fisheries Federation, shared the native people's feeling that their interests are not well-served:

"... the meetings called by government to gain public input are a waste of time and a waste of taxpayer's money, as well as an insult to the intelligence of our people. You see the decision had already been influenced and sealed by the 'wise man in the far east'."

(Northwestern Commercial Fisheries Federation, Kenora, p. 2526)

The problem seems to lie in determining whose interests will take priority. This is what the Ministry of Natural Resources has been trying to do but its efforts have not satisfied the native people, nor many of the non-natives who have taken to the bush. It boils down to a question of lifestyles and priorities, and inevitably decisions are made in the interests of the dominant society's attitudes. Native people recognize the essential difference between their lifestyle and that of the dominant society, and ask that their way of life not be destroyed:

"White people were given a certain lifestyle, the one that is based on industry, farming and working regular

hours, and they are meant by the Great Spirit to live this way. Indian people were also given a way of life, that of hunting, fishing, trapping and living off the land. One way of life should not destroy the other. We know that if we do not continue to use the kind of life we were given, it will be taken away from us."

(Cat Lake Band, Osnaburgh, p. 1819)

The Commission heard pleas from people who saw their ability to continue their bush activities and their livelihood threatened by impending developments:

"Justice Hartt, I want you to help me. I don't want to see industry and development wreak havoc on me and my people. There is a waterfalls about 17 miles from here. Now they're talking about damming that falls. If they dam that falls, that's the end of my trapline . . . My situation, sir, is identical to many in this vast land. If I lose my way of life, I lose what I was meant to be, and what I am."

(Fred Meekis, Sandy Lake, p. 2439)

Others had stronger words:

"As for the quotas, we will not consider fish taken from on-reserve waters to be included under our licence. We will report only those fish caught off the reserve. If this action is civil disobedience, then let the government arrest us. When the livelihood of an entire community is threatened it must protect itself."

(Treaty # 3, Kenora, p. 2902)

There were non-natives as well who felt that the costs of development in terms of the disruption of the land and livelihood of those dependent upon it, are too great:

"I have seen the effects of logging on the environment. I have seen the changes that damming of the rivers have created. I have seen proud people lose their pride as a result of quick projects with temporary economic benefits. I have seen erosion of northern attitudes from those of sharing to those of 'every man for himself' which prevail in the south. I believe that under the present attitudes of government and industry, that development in the north is too expensive."

(Warner West, Moose Factory, p. 3333)

Agriculture—A Neglected Industry North of 50

There is very little farming north of 50. People who live there are nearly entirely dependent on food shipped up from the south at a very high cost. Increasing transportation costs and food shortages may combine to make the local production of food in northern communities more attractive. Knowledgeable people confirmed the potential of the land to sustain agriculture. What was lacking was the economic stimulus.

Doesn't It Pay to Grow Fruits and Vegetables?

To many northerners, fresh fruits and vegetables are luxuries. Proponents of northern agriculture believe that much more fresh produce could be grown north of 50. But few vegetables are now being cultivated north of 50, even under glass. The Royal Commission was often reminded during hearings that economic policies for the north were evolved to provide the raw materials which the south requires, and were not preoccupied with producing materials to serve local needs. Northerners on many occasions spoke of their region's economy as following a true colonial form, i.e., all energies are devoted to the extraction of resources for export, leaving little time, money or labour for local food production.

In a sense, the Commission was asked to help offset the public's misconception that the north is a barren place, incapable of sustaining agricultural activity. The truth is, say northerners, that what is produced in the north is not dictated by climate or topography but rather by economics.

It was argued that the north could move a long way towards agricultural self-sufficiency under a different set of priorities. Witness the "green revolution" of urban gardening in New York City, the cultivating of the desert in Israel and the transformation of Cuba from a sugarcane plantation into a diversified producer of food for local consumption. New soft technologies, such as hydroponics and use of waste heat to serve greenhouses, could significantly add to the north's agricultural potential if self-sufficiency is to become a goal for the north.

Year-round greenhouse agriculture was one of the undertakings recommended which could be concomitant with economic development in the north. All possibilities for growing food in the north should be seriously examined, the Commission was told, as ways in which high costs of living could be reduced.

Agriculture—Potential in the Future—Insignificance Today

Agriculture north of 50 prompted minimal discussion at the hearings apart from three presentations, two by representatives of the Ontario Ministry of Agriculture and Food, and one by Continental Hydroponics Ltd.

Agriculture, northerners regret, is not a significant activity in the north today. But the Commission was told that it had been more important in the past and that some potential exists for expansion in the future.

Agriculture came very early to the area north of 50:

"Agriculture has been carried out along the coast of James Bay since about 1688. The first attempts were by the Hudson's Bay Co. to provide winter supplies of root and cole crops. The Oblate fathers have also done some excellent work and around 1920, kept a dairy herd at Attawapiskat. There are also reports that Moose Factory Island had up to seven root houses in 1928."

(Ministry of Agriculture and Food, Timmins, p. 936)

While agriculture was practised at this time it was primarily to meet local needs and commercial agriculture never developed to any extent. Gradually, even this subsistence agriculture began to peter out:

"Agriculture followed other developments in the area and was clearly used to supplement the food basis of those who had come to mine the minerals and harvest the wood resources. As a result of improved transportation facilitating efficient food flow from the south and from the west, and the better income of alternate employment in forestry or mining, agriculture started to decline. Although a decline has occurred, most communities, all just south of the 50th parallel, still maintain a small number of enthusiastic farmers."

(Ministry of Agriculture and Food, Dryden, p. 445)

Most of the agricultural activity in the north occurs just south of 50. A ministry representative told the Commission that there is only one commercial dairy farm north of 50. However, contacts have been made with native people north of 50 and potential for agricultural production appears good. The ministry representative described his contacts with the Ogoki Band Council:

"Fresh milk is not now available on the reserve, therefore the band council wanted to know if they could keep some cows. I tried to indicate what was necessary in order for them to get into the dairy business.

Eggs are \$1.69 a dozen at Ogoki, so they were naturally interested in producing their own eggs . . . There are two small gardens on the reserve at the present time and they are wondering about expanding production, primarily in potatoes."

(Ministry of Agriculture and Food, Dryden, p. 452)

Agricultural production for other than local consumption by the producers is unlikely to increase unless certain factors change:

"Until economic circumstances dictate otherwise the present level of agricultural production will maintain itself. Indeed if energy and therefore transportation costs continue to rise, an expansion in agricultural activity might be expected near population centres due to proximity of markets. There is a great deal of land with agricultural capability which could be developed near, but still south of the 50th parallel . . . It would appear that agricultural development north of the 50th parallel is very unlikely until the quite distant future."

(Ministry of Agriculture and Food, Dryden, p. 451)

The ministry pointed out, however, that investments in farming should:

" . . . take into account the high cost of importing bulky crops (e.g., potatoes) from outside the region. Local production of potato by-products (e.g., potato chips) could be considered too, depending on the cost of such a processing industry.

(Ministry of Agriculture and Food, Timmins, p. 938)

A Timmins resident joined the ministry in its suggestion of diversification based on food products and by-products. Mike Zudel told the Commission that:

"One could visualize this Onakawana-Timmins area to be a large place, full of small food producers, small local manufacturers, meat packers, food processing, canning, large supplementers, if not a total self-sufficiency . . . doing what you can with what you have is hard to beat . . . Ontario's good farm land is gradually covered by concrete, and industry. Sooner or later, the northern areas will have to look into their own business of producing food industry for 2 reasons: 1) high cost of transportation; and 2) it could be done."

(Mike Zudel, Timmins, p. 2366)

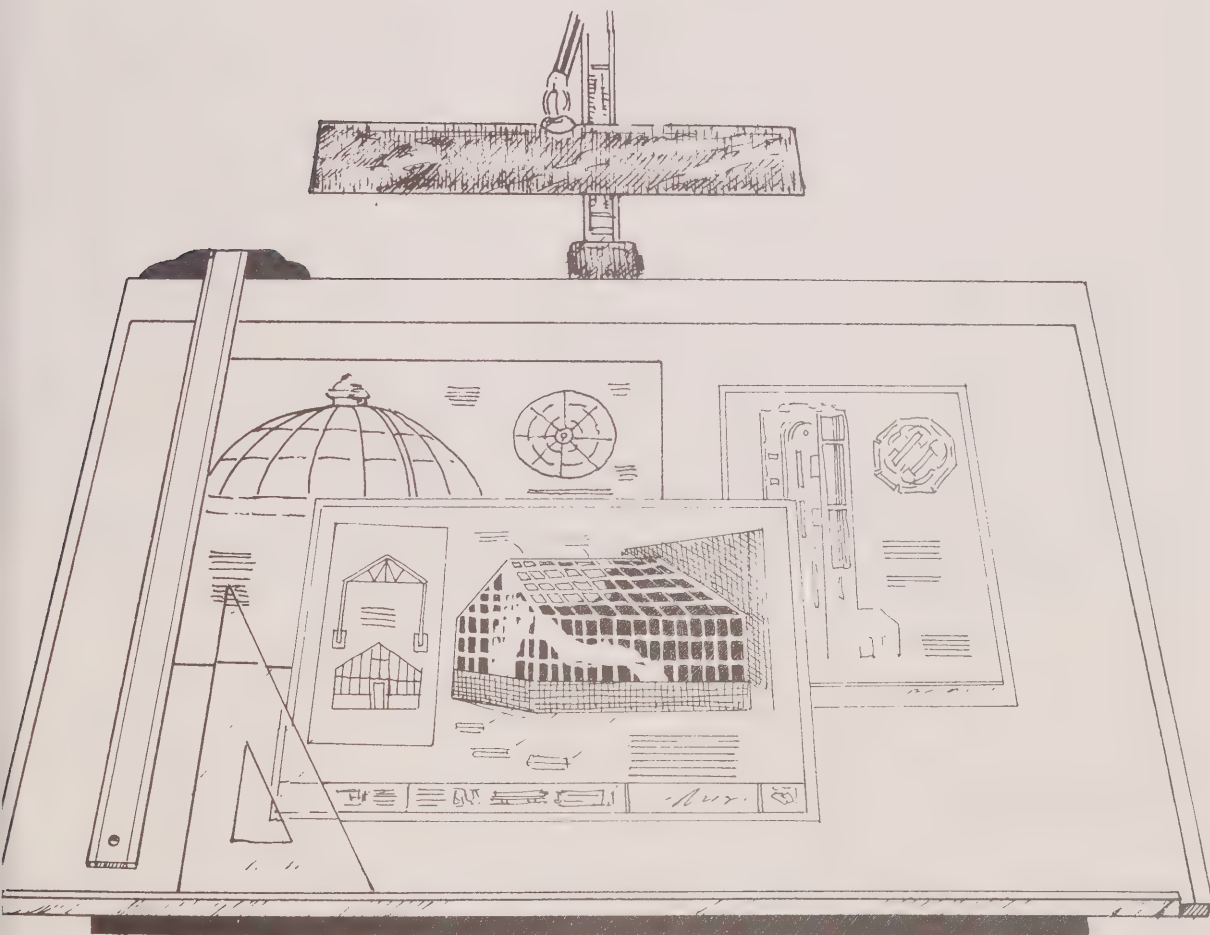
In Toronto, Gerald Rosenberg of Continental Hydroponics Ltd. took up the question of food production for the north. He argued that the time was quickly approaching when the north would no longer be able to depend on southern food imports, not only because of food shortages but because of escalating costs. To relieve this dependence on imports he advocated a hydroponic system:

"Our metroponic hydroponic system uses little water and very little energy. Moreover, the nutrient solution is recyclable. With our system of metroponic horticulture, northerners could grow abundant and nutritious fruit and vegetables all year round, recycling the nutrient solution every three weeks by draining it into tanks for the purpose of aquaculture, i.e., the raising of fish, fish that would not be polluted. The nutrient

solution feeds the fish, giving certain species a 30% faster growth than they would get in water. The same nutrient solution can then be recycled back into the system after having been enriched by nature's own fertilizer — fish droppings. We then have a continuous cycle of raising fish and producing nutritious vegetables at a low cost."

(Continental Hydroponics Ltd., Toronto, p. 2281)

The Commission was told that it was a matter of conjecture whether agricultural expansion will occur in the north or whether new methods of achieving self-sufficiency will be explored. Nevertheless, the option for a better performance in the future exists.





Wild Rice — A Route to Economic Self-Sufficiency

Wild rice has special significance to northwestern Ontario. In hearings held by the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment, native people emphasized the need to protect what they see as their aboriginal right to harvest this native crop. A number of northern residents, mainly non-native, and the Ministry of Natural Resources consider that much larger amounts could be harvested than now gathered by the traditional hand-picking method. They urged that the crop be harvested mechanically and spoke of a potential \$20 million business. Native groups, while reflecting a similar ambition for larger harvests, sought special treatment for themselves in the matter of wild rice. They argued that making wild rice harvesting an exclusive Indian resource in the future would provide a stable economic base for several of their communities.

A Way of Life or a New Way of Living

When the "Manominee kigeesis" or harvest moon rises each year at the end of August, Ojibway people in northwestern Ontario pick wild rice by the canoe and flailing method, a practice followed for centuries.

The Commission was asked to acknowledge that non-native people also harvest wild rice — in the area outside of the Lake of the Woods and nearby lakes. Some employ the native method to pick rice for their own use. Other commercial harvesters use homemade mechanical pickers — motor boats, usually with screened speed-heads on the front that catch the falling rice as the picker drives through the stands of rice.

To harvest wild rice, whether commercially or for personal use, requires a special licence issued under the Wild Rice Harvesting Act, at the discretion of the Ministry of Natural Resources. This identifies wild rice as a provincial resource of all the people of Ontario. Presently, natives have licences for the traditionally harvested and most productive stands of wild rice areas in the Lake of the Woods area. Only a few non-natives have sought and received licences for other areas.

At its hearings, the Commission learned of the apprehensions of native people of repetition in the case of wild rice of what they see as a familiar pattern in regard to other resources. Licencing of what had always been for them a free and traditional activity would be followed by a quota system. Non-natives would meet their quotas and press for more, and the natives' share would, in time, become proportionately less and less. Native people expressed their fear of being expelled from their near-monopoly on wild rice and they extolled the place of wild rice harvesting in their culture and religious traditions.

From non-native representatives, the Commission heard wild rice described as a resource that was going to waste, about small harvests when crops were good. Some non-natives contended that no one should have preferential rights to harvest a resource that belongs to all Ontarians.

The debate over who should be able to harvest wild rice, and how, was considered by some observers as a classic tug-of-war between modern technology, mechanical harvesters and mechanical processors pitted against the traditional methods of hand-picking, home processing of the grain; the possible enrichment of some enterprising individuals set against the socio-economic involvement of almost all members of a community. How, they asked, can one weigh what would be lost against what might be gained?

The Commission was impressed that the native people's access to wild rice should be protected and so declared itself. Following recommendations in the Commission's Interim Report to safeguard this resource for native peoples, the government of Ontario imposed a five-year freeze on the granting of new licences to non-native people and announced a five-year program to assist Indian bands in developing wild rice as an Indian resource.¹

¹Announced on May 16, 1978, the terms of the program are:

1. In accordance with current policy only Indian bands will be licenced to harvest wild rice in the Kenora and Dryden district for the coming 1978 season.
 2. Outside the Kenora and Dryden district all 1977 licences will be renewed for 1978 and annually thereafter.
 3. Effective immediately Ontario will extend its efforts to assist Indian licencees to develop appropriate technology and to increase utilization of the available crop with the primary objective of establishing an economic base for the involved Indian communities.
 4. The Tripartite Working Group on wild rice should give the highest priority to the determination of current and future markets for Ontario wild rice. A first report should be made no later than January of 1979.
 5. No additional licences will be issued to non-Indians during the next five years unless it can be demonstrated to the Tripartite Working Group that market potential for Ontario wild rice is sufficient to support an increased share of production by non-Indians without jeopardizing our efforts to establish wild rice production as a viable economic base for the Indian people.
 6. In keeping with the spirit of the Hartt Commission that all northerners should be involved in the determination of northern issues, we propose the Tripartite Working Group on wild rice be expanded to include representation of the Ontario Wild Rice Producers Association and the Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association.
-

The Issue of Wild Rice—A Critical Topic

Believed to have flourished in northwestern Ontario for as long as 4,000 years, wild rice was a prominent issue at Commission hearings in the northwest of the province, particularly in the Kenora-Rainy River area.

For at least the last 1,000 years, man has harvested rice in Ontario's north, the Ojibway offering wild rice when the first French missionaries came to northern Ontario in the late 1600's. Recognizing wild rice as an important food staple then as now, some historians attribute the native people's survival in this area to the availability of large stands of wild rice.

Over time, the annual harvesting of wild rice has become a ritual, an important component of Indian life, not just an activity providing food and income, but also an outlet for cultural and spiritual expression. This attitude to wild rice was conveyed to the Commission at its sittings in Kenora, Osnaburgh and Whitedog:

"The annual harvest of wild rice has been a cornerstone of the Ojibway culture and livelihood for centuries . . . The origin of many of our customs, social and spiritual, can be traced to the annual harvest of wild rice . . . Even today, ricing time continues to have important social and cultural features and assumes the qualities of a community festival. Cultural and physical survival of the Ojibway people of northwestern Ontario over the centuries have been bound to the harvesting of this precious natural resource."

(Treaty # 3, Kenora, p. 2877)

The economic viability of some Indian communities was linked to wild rice harvesting:

"Our economic future is linked with our proposed development of our wild rice fields . . . We do not intend to give up those harvesting rights upon which we are greatly dependent, now and in the future."

(Osnaburgh Band, Osnaburgh, p. 1807)

Indian views on harvesting rights and resource ownership were clearly stated:

"My people wish to harvest wild rice in the traditional way. But, most importantly, my people look on wild rice as theirs to harvest by right. It is an Indian resource, not a white resource. We will fight anyone on any battleground to defend our wild rice rights."

(Man-O-Min Wild Rice Indian Cooperative, Sioux Lookout, p. 211)

But conflicting with these views is an Ontario statute and government policy:

"The ministry manages wild rice as one of the natural resources under the Wild Rice Harvesting Act. That

act envisages, if you will, that wild rice is a resource which is part of the total resource package belonging to all the people of the province . . . We are aware certainly . . . that some segments of the population feel that there is a different interpretation as to whose resource that is. The mandate we have now is that it is a resource of all the people of the province."

(Ministry of Natural Resources, Sioux Lookout, p. 287)

Non-native northerners went on record as wishing to share in the wild rice resource.¹ A resident of Red Lake presented the Commission with a copy of the *Red Lake District News*, October 20, 1977, containing an article on wild rice harvesting. It described methods used by non-natives and the value to the community:

"George Green and Bob Urquart fashioned their own picker by laying poplar poles across the front struts of a Gull Wing aircraft. They then hung canvas behind the poles to catch the grain as it fell off. The rice picked was used to seed several lakes in the area . . . Locally, the benefits of this alternative industry are extensive. Not only does it bring money into town through harvesters themselves but it utilizes the support of other local businesses such as the Seaplane Service and the small airline operators."

¹Subsequent to the Commission's Interim Report, a group of non-native northerners involved in wild rice production joined together on April 8, 1978 to form the Wild Rice Producers Association. Their express purpose was to:

" . . . protect and promote the development of the wild rice industry in Ontario. We request the Ontario government to reject the recommendation on wild rice by Mr. Justice Patrick Hartt as it is discriminatory and not in the best interests of future economic growth and development for the north. We ask that the Ontario government adopt a policy for wild rice that would enable and encourage the development of this renewable resource in Ontario for the benefit of all Ontario residents."

(Daily Miner and News, Kenora, April 10, 1978)

Native groups opposed opening up and increasing the wild rice harvest:

"Another government policy currently proposes to open up the wild rice harvest as the potential of harvest has supposedly never been realized. True, it hasn't, if our minds are focused on maximum exploitation and mechanization. But that potential has been there for hundreds, maybe thousands of years, and it should be developed for the benefit of native peoples of this region . . . by people of native ancestry, whose livelihood and future depend on the land. We have a stake in the conservation and in the proper management of our resources into the future."

(Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association, Kenora, p. 2642)

The size of wild rice harvests was linked by some people to changing water levels. At the Whitedog hearings, a 1975 Ministry of Natural Resources report (Adamson Report) was quoted as saying:

"Part of the reason for this wide variation (in annual harvests) is the effect of water levels in the Winnipeg River, which in turn controls water levels at Whitedog Lake. The development of a stable rice industry for the Whitedog Band depends on the ability to maintain relatively constant water levels in Whitedog Lake between the months of May and September."

(Islington Band, Whitedog, p. 2762)

In the Lake of the Woods Control Board area (Lake of the Woods, Rainy River, English River) Indians claimed that fluctuations in water level were detrimental to the rice crop. It was stated that wild rice, an aquatic plant, is extremely dependent on light among other factors, and cannot tolerate water depths beyond a maximum of six feet.

Two seemingly contradictory positions of the Ministry of Natural Resources were quoted by the Islington Band at Whitedog. In a letter to Grand Council Treaty # 3 of November 12, 1976, the then Minister of Natural Resources, Leo Bernier, stated:

"As you have pointed out, this was a bumper year for rice in the Treaty # 3 area, undoubtedly because below average run-off resulted in lower lake levels."

(Islington Band, Whitedog, p. 2766)

In a letter of September 9, 1977, the Assistant Director of Resources and Recreation in the Ministry of Natural Resources declared:

"We have no proof that water level stabilization will be the key to production in normally poor years."

(Islington Band, Whitedog, p. 2766)

Peter Lee, a professional consultant on wild rice, was quoted as saying:

"In northwestern Ontario the annual harvest of wild rice has varied from less than 20,000 pounds to as high as 1,300,000 pounds. This great variation in harvest is mainly the result of water level fluctuations."

(Islington Band, Whitedog, p. 2768)

With opinions differing markedly on the effect of water levels, calls for research to determine optimum growth requirements and harvesting procedures seem reasonable.

Also brought to the attention of the Commission were criticisms of Indians for inefficient harvesting of the wild rice crop, particularly during years of substantial crops.

The Commission heard conflicting views over what crop levels should be. For example, according to experts at the University of Minnesota as quoted by Treaty # 3:

"It is impossible to extend crop estimates from one lake to another, because frequently there are genetic variables in the rice from lake to lake. Different genetic strains yield different amounts of rice . . . The yields are also affected by differing water levels, nutrient differences, differences in availability of light and numerous other general environmental factors."

(Treaty # 3, Kenora, p. 2883)

Estimates of crop levels by the Ministry of Natural Resources were criticized on the basis of experiments under controlled conditions at the University of Minnesota. There, screens protected the rice from birds. Insecticides, fertilizers and mechanical harvesters were used to increase yields, and a special strain of rice was used in which the whole head ripens at once, greatly simplifying harvesting:

"The best result from the experiment was an average yield of 2,000 pounds of green rice per acre. The Ministry of Natural Resources estimates that in our area, fields yield as high as 5,400 pounds per acre. In other words, under ideal conditions, the Minnesota experts got an average yield of only 2,000 pounds per acre, but the ministry counters estimated over twice those yields in Ontario wild rice areas."

(Treaty # 3, Kenora, p. 2881)

People agreed that there are areas which are frequently underharvested and others which could be productive. Action to remedy such situations had occurred in some areas:

"We are taking steps to ensure increased harvest and production . . . We have consulted and asked Ministry of Natural Resources officials to act in an advisory role on how to improve our harvest. We have talked, debated, and looked over proposals such as using mechanical harvesters, flood control dams, seeding . . . We have involved charity groups to fund and provide specialized consultants on our wild rice yield improvements project . . . Our band is trying to fully utilize this potentially large and valuable resource based industry."

(Grassy Narrows Reserve, Whitedog, p. 2795)

Some people thought the provincial government could have done more, particularly in working with the Indian people on wild rice development:

"Ontario does have more biological potential for wild rice than Minnesota, and if it takes a positive attitude, it is not yet too late to develop this potential. But if it sits back, and tries to ignore reality and progress, then ten years from now, the dream of an Ontario wild rice industry will be nothing more than a memory."

(Peter Lee, letter submitted to the R.C.N.E., February 2, 1978)

The Commission learned that the Ministry of Natural Resources has been considering revisions in the Wild Rice Harvesting Act to help ensure that harvest would increase. One way of doing this would be to open up wild rice harvesting to non-natives.

When asked to comment on the ministry's policy, a representative of the Ministry of Natural Resources stated that:

"... all policy at the present point in time is up for grabs."

(Ministry of Natural Resources, Kenora, p. 2678)

The Kitchener-Conestoga Rotary Club was apprehensive about some of the policy changes that were being considered, particularly those that would open up harvesting to everyone under greater regulatory control:

"These ... (would) ... alter the very basis of the wild rice industry as it now exists ... (They would) impose a system of regimentation, permits, licences,

approvals and the like, which are totally alien to the Indians' way of life. They are in the finest bureaucratic tradition of the white man ... K-C Rotary proposes a moratorium on any such legislative amendments for at least five years, during which the wild rice industry, still in its infancy, can be given a chance to grow and flourish."

(Kitchener-Conestoga Rotary Club, brief submitted to the R.C.N.E., p. 3)

Some people were cynical about the government's consideration of new wild rice policies:

"The Ontario government recognized wild rice as an Indian resource and for years only Indian people have been allowed to harvest it. But wild rice is now considered a delicacy by white people. This means that piles of money can be made from harvesting and selling wild rice. Large profits can be made from exploiting our wild rice fields. And the rights of Indians have always been trampled when profits are concerned."

(Man-O-Min Wild Rice Indian Cooperative, Sioux Lookout, p. 210)

Chief Philip Gardner spoke to the Commission at Kenora:

"The government, of course, claims my people do not exploit the wild rice efficiently enough ... But allow me to point out once again that the white man at one time claimed that Indians were not efficient at harvesting buffalo, and everyone knows what happened to the buffalo."

(Treaty #3, Kenora, p. 2859)



Land Use—Conflict over Priorities

Land use planning was a significant concern raised at the hearings of the Royal Commission. Life in the north centres on the land and natural resources. A number of the submissions were skeptical of the usefulness of the strategic land use planning tool of the Ministry of Natural Resources. Northerners were generally mindful and critical of past governmental land use trade-offs between conflicting users. Such arrangements, they maintained, were made without consideration for the social and economic ramifications to present and potential users of the land.

Planning—How Dynamic and Essential a Process?

To some northern residents, attempts at land use planning for the north conjure up images of southern bureaucrats dispassionately allocating northern resources, drawing up guidelines, defining restrictions and generally managing to overlook the real flavour of the land, the people the land supports, or any relation between the two.

In southern Ontario the relationship between the people and the land is considered subtle, obscured by an economic system based upon the processing of resources drawn from elsewhere and the high profile dominance of manufacturing and service-related industries. In the north, by contrast, the relationship between man and the land is close, raw, obvious and pronounced. Almost all economic activity is based on the utilization of the north's natural resources. This is as true for the trapper as it is for the iron ore open-pit miner, for the sawmill operator as it is for the commercial fisherman, for the hunting lodge owner as it is for the wild rice harvester.

This intimate relationship of northerners with nature ensures that anything which affects the use of the land will have economic, social and cultural ramifications.

Some complained to the Commission that land use planning carried out in Ontario is based upon meeting objectives, all of which are industrial market oriented and are determined in the province's capital, Toronto. These province wide goals, critics maintained, are then reduced to regional and local objectives. In the planning process there is little public input and, due to their industrial orientation, these goals involve scant attention to local social, cultural and small business considerations.

One way of resolving future conflicts the Royal Commission was told, is to plan now which resource uses should have precedence in the years ahead. Speakers pointed out that government planning is seen by people as addressing that sort of question. Yet often government planning has been seen to have other



objectives — for example, meeting production and employment objectives — or trying to rationalize internal programs with potentially conflicting objectives. Northerners claimed that they recognize the need for comprehensive planning, for harmonizing proposed resource uses, like the Onakawana lignite mine and thermal electric generating plant, with regional development plans and local community aspirations.

Northerners who appeared before the Commission talked of the potential for positive change if residents of the north were themselves involved in the land use planning process, if resources were seen as more than answers to meeting industrial supply quotas, if long-term ecological, social and cultural impacts were given as much, or even greater, consideration than immediate economic benefits. In meeting the industrial needs of the south, the concerns of northerners should be incorporated into any planning objectives, it was suggested. More than one speaker foresaw the benefits for the northern environment that would ensue if local people were allowed to determine what northern priorities should be. Land use planning would follow accordingly, and would then begin to have some relevance to the people and the environment which that governmentally derived process affects.

At the base of northerners' concerns over land use planning was the issue underlying all of the submissions made to the Commission. Northerners seek control over the decisions which affect their day-to-day lives. They want to be informed, consulted and involved in all environmental decisions. Given the pervasive significance of land in the north, they feel it reasonable to be involved directly in the plans for the disposition of the natural resources of Ontario north of 50.

For Whose Use and for Whose Benefit?

In contrast to the approach in southern Ontario, man's relationship to the land in the north is very direct and pronounced. Almost all economic activity, be it copper mining, subsistence hunting, timber harvesting, trapping, or catering to sport fishermen, involves the direct utilization of the north's natural resources. Most of the remaining activity, predominantly service-related, is also directly related to primary resource extraction.

Resource based activities by their nature are confined to specific locations. Mining occurs where ore is present, trapping where the fur bearers are, and timber harvesting where trees are located. Because such diverse natural resources are often found together in the same location, land use conflicts arise. Competing demands for the northern resources have created sharp conflicts between such activities as trapping and mining, commercial and sport fishing, and forestry and tourism.

Yet few have answers to the dilemmas posed by conflicting and competing resource use demands, and how they could be accommodated. What can be done when trapping and tourism compete with forestry activities, when commercial fisheries discourage sport fishing?

"... demands on the land and water base of Ontario create that potential for conflict between various user groups. You have already heard some of these conflicts. For example, commercial fishing as opposed to sport fishing ... The fishing resource in Ontario must be apportioned on some equitable basis between commercial fishing interests and the sport fishing interests. We have already heard about the conflict between tourism and forestry, where the remote tourist establishment is sometimes impinged upon by road construction by the industry creating access roads."

(Ministry of Natural Resources, Ear Falls, p. 773)

Accommodating competing resource uses requires agreement on valuing these uses. Which, for example, is economically preferable, or environmentally less harmful? Northerners did not agree on the value to be attached to resource uses, particularly for activities like trapping and wild rice harvesting, which have subsistence as well as commercial returns, and in some instances are considered to have social and cultural significance as well. Indians place different values on some resource uses than non-Indians.

Many northerners told Mr. Justice Hartt that large-scale extractive resource uses were the only real and possible sources for employment, reasonable incomes and the supply of "civilized" services and amenities.

The Commission soon realized that dealing with conflicting land uses, and the different values placed on the same use by different people in the north, was an extremely complex undertaking, even for government.

Substantial information about the Ministry of Natural Resources' strategic land use planning program was provided to the Commission. Land use, as the ministry uses the term, it was explained, is really synonymous with resource use.

The ministry's planning begins with its overall mandate:

"The goal of the ministry is to provide opportunities for outdoor recreation and resource development for the continuous social and economic benefit of the people of Ontario and to administer, protect and conserve public lands and waters."

(Ministry of Natural Resources, Sioux Lookout, p. 273)

Falling within this mandate are a number of provincial objectives involving, for example, the production of set amounts of wood, the creation of a certain number of jobs, the availability of so many cottage lots. The objectives appear to be set by government generally, with a strong role being played by the Ministry of Treasury, Economics and Intergovernmental Affairs (TEIGA) and its Design for Development program. It is TEIGA who has divided the province into five planning regions:

"Within that broad framework the ministry conducts its strategic land use plan to achieve its objectives and then progresses to the local level of planning which is basically a refinement of all facts essential to making decisions."

(Ministry of Natural Resources, Ear Falls, p. 775)

The Commission was informed that the Ministry of Natural Resources has recently completed its broad land use plan for northwestern Ontario. The plan for the northeast is in the formative stages. These plans will result in the assignment of a portion of the provincial natural resource production objectives to either region. For example, it was revealed that the annual timber target for the northwest is 6.3 million cunits. The next step of this planning process entails local land use planning, by which the regional natural resource production targets are divided among the local areas or districts.

In northwestern Ontario a local land use study which covers an area of 80,000 square miles is being conducted by the Ministry of Natural Resources and is known as the West Patricia Land Use Plan. It will determine target rates for natural resource production perhaps for the remainder of this century, and will broadly define future land uses within the West Patricia area for such uses as parks, forestry or wildlife harvesting and conservation.¹

¹The Royal Commission on the Northern Environment in its Interim Report of April 1978 recommended that a complete review and assessment of The West Patricia planning process, the relation to other development programs of the Ontario government, and with special emphasis on the Reed tract, be carried out by the Commission, with the proposals of the Ministry of Natural Resources considered as the focal point of the review.

While the Ministry of Natural Resources' planning process does attempt to reconcile conflicts between competing demands on northern resources, the Commission remains uncertain about the effect of production targets and the extent to which they are affected by localized knowledge of actual resource capacities, or the general capability of areas to survive certain kinds of resource uses.

The Commission did learn that a planning process like the West Patricia Land Use Plan is not an all-encompassing plan. It does not attempt to include alternate or new methods of development or resource use that could well help foster local economic stability, but accepts current kinds of uses as the best basis for future assessments.

In fact, the ministry's plans were described to the Royal Commission as no more than an attempt by the ministry to conduct its affairs in an orderly and open manner. Given the conflicts within its mandate, this is an admirable goal but, some people argued, this is not enough. Openness, from the ministry's perspective, will be secured by its public participation process:

"... so that we can get the views of the public as to what they want to see produced, and by public we mean each individual as well as the various groups and they have indeed been involved in the Strategic Land Use Plan for northwestern Ontario."

(Ministry of Natural Resources, Sioux Lookout, p. 282)

A number of groups and individuals asked whether the planning process of the Ministry of Natural Resources, and in particular the West Patricia Land Use Plan, was proceeding with a predetermined set of goals and objectives. Some were critical that a planning process should be proceeding simultaneously with the commission's inquiry without pausing for the Commission's conclusions and recommendations:

"The province is going to insert \$6 million into that study (West Patricia Land Use Plan) . . . It is exactly the area that you and your Commission have studied over the past months. And I would have to question the mentality and the wisdom of the government of Ontario for making such a decision before giving you and your Commission the opportunity of at least presenting your first brief or summary of these meetings . . . and I hope, Mr. Chairman, that if you have any input to these ministries, that you and your Commission will have the influence to ask this West Patricia Land Use study to be terminated until at least you have an opportunity for some input."

(Thunder Bay Chamber of Commerce, Kenora, p. 3035)

Treaty # 9 stressed that the planning process did not take into account the views of those who disagreed with the ministry. The manner in which past public participation and consultation had occurred was criticized:

"The civil servants of the Ministry of Natural Resources wanted to meet with some of our people to supposedly inform them as to the direction they are moving. When you get back to Toronto that will be misinterpreted as consultation. There was no such consultation within the context of the meaning of the word as far as our people are concerned."

(Treaty #9, Moosonee, p. 3093)

Dr. John Spence, speaking on behalf of Treaty #9, stressed the need for a truly comprehensive land use plan, which would incorporate native concerns and seriously consider alternatives:

"The Onakawana development as recommended by the task force should be placed in the context of a comprehensive development plan. It is not and cannot be at the present time, for the simple reason we do not have plans like this for this part of Ontario. Realistic alternatives must be evaluated before irreversible commitment of financial and other sources takes place. In seeking these alternatives I believe that the voice of the people of Grand Council Treaty # 9 must be listened to. Only then can Ontario come to grips with its north, and only then can all people of the Ontario Arctic watershed start to have confidence in planning and the economic growth of the north."

(Treaty # 9, Timmins, p. 1094)

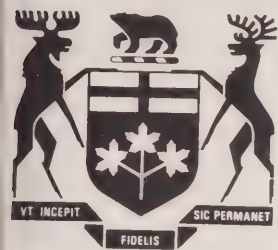
Among those who were dissatisfied with government planning, most recognized the need. Treaty # 9 indicated it would do its own land use planning. Chief Gerald McKay spoke to the Commission about a proposed general land use plan for Treaty #9's economic zones:

"The acquired information would pertain to our people, the natural resources, the present development and uses of the land and the needs and wants of our people. From the acquired data and our people's involvement we would present alternatives relating to future growth and development of resources in our economic zones and identify areas where developments should never take place."

(Big Trout Lake Band, Osnaburgh, p. 1880)

The desire expressed by northerners to be involved in determining how the north's resources are to be used parallels what they told the Commission in a variety of ways. They want to be involved in the making of decisions affecting their lives. Such involvement, they felt, would help ensure that northern needs were met and that planning processes did not become too narrow or their focus be dominated by those who care little about the north or northerners.

ISSUES



Chapter

4

A Background Paper on Behalf of The Royal Commission on the Northern Environment.

The Dynamics of Power—Energy Projects

	Page
A Controversial Choice of Paths	115
The North's Role in Energy Production.....	117
Onakawana	
Sizeable by any Measure	121
Marmion Lake Project Worries Northerners	129
The North's Wild Rivers	
Their Power Potential	133
Pipeline Prospect Raises Hopes and Anxieties	139

The bracketed notations following the quotations identify the individual or organization making the presentation before the Commission, site of the preliminary hearing, and the page number in the transcript where the quotation may be found.

Chapter 4

THE DYNAMICS OF POWER—ENERGY PROJECTS

The perceived social impacts of major undertakings, such as the Reed, Onakawana and Polar Gas projects, were especially drawn to my attention. Some people spoke of projects such as these as important for the economic survival of their towns. Others were critical, describing the negative effects past developments have had on their communities. All major development projects contemplated for the north today are in one way or another energy-related. Either they are energy-producing or energy-consuming or both. On the theme of energy in the north, the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment became acutely aware that it was dealing with a core issue.

—Mr. Justice E. P. Hartt

A Controversial Choice of Paths

THE NORTH faces major environmental disturbances whichever energy paths are undertaken, the Royal Commission was told. There are choices: i.e., conservation and small-scale production on the one hand and, on the other, massive energy projects involving pipelines, river diversions and thermal generating plants adjoining open-pit coal mining operations.

To some northerners the temptation does exist for prosperity in the near term, to opt for further growth and a stimulated economy. But, as with past northern power projects, it is generally believed that, overall, the economy helped most will be the one in the province's south. In the past, following the boom of an initial construction period, such projects have failed to provide significant employment opportunities to northerners even during normal operations. Under such circumstances, the Commission was asked to appreciate why northerners generally are cynical about future energy developments north of 50.

Northerners declared themselves aware that their region has rivers in the north with substantial hydroelectric potential, power sources that remain unharnessed. Lignite deposits could be mined to fuel power generating installations.

Northern Ontario is also being considered a corridor for a natural gas pipeline that would bring energy supplies from the Arctic to link with existing pipelines that feed the industrial south.

Further on the question of energy-related matters, Ontario's far north is being viewed as a possible site for nuclear waste disposal, a burial ground for radioactive debris generated by nuclear power plants in the south.

Some, who were opponents of all development in principle, argued that society should get along with less energy. They saw any start on energy projects in Ontario's north as unwarranted at this time, as merely signalling further wasteful consumption in the south.

Conservationists also placed themselves in opposition to power development in the north, pointing to environmental damage caused by dams and diversions in the past. Some expressed concern about the anticipated sulphur dioxide emissions from future coal fired thermal power plants, and the acid rain that may ensue.

Some northerners appearing before the Commission described themselves as "moderates" advocating a modest level of energy production and consumption in the north, enough to allow northern residents to satisfy their own needs without much damage to their environment.

Still others saw the recommendation of small-scale environmentally-protective technologies as utopian solutions to a mounting national energy demand that would inevitably require using all of Canada's northern resources. In the view of northerners favouring expansion, expert attention should be focused on how the north could maximize its return on resources while minimizing harmful environmental impacts in the large-scale energy projects of the future.



The North's Role in Energy Production

Development in northern Ontario is interrelated with the need for energy supply. Many of the projects considered at the hearings of the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment, i.e., Polar Gas pipeline, Onakawana lignite, Marmion Lake generating station, hydro-electric potential, are energy-based. Critics of such development in the north questioned the need for large-scale energy projects, suggesting instead that alternative energy sources be investigated.

Sun, wind and wood wastes were cited as energy sources for human needs. A separate but negative energy issue raised was whether north-western Ontario should tolerate nuclear waste disposal in its outlying regions.

The Energy Issue—No Subject More Pertinent

Northern Ontario possesses energy resources of every kind — fossil fuels such as coal, timber for burning and methanol production, uranium for nuclear plants, the elements themselves for solar, wind and water power.

The Commission was told that, in the past, damming of rivers not only produced power but also caused flooding of Indian burial grounds, wild rice fields, fishing areas, timber stands and hunting areas, all without adequate notice or compensation to the people affected. Current schemes for the future damming of the great rivers flowing into James Bay brought such anxieties to the surface in northern communities.

Native representatives maintained that, previously, energy decisions had been made without considering benefits or liabilities to the people most directly affected. Incomprehensibly, say natives, even though hydroelectric dams were often constructed close to Indian reserves, it was not until much later that power was connected to those nearby communities.

Native organizations spoke of resentment of the steep costs of electricity to them after they had already suffered a rise in their costs of living in the aftermath of energy development.

On the question of the transportation of energy from the eastern Arctic through northern Manitoba and Ontario by the proposed Polar Gas pipeline, some people spoke out in favour of the project as a potential economic stimulus in the north. Native spokesmen, on the other hand, warned that the scheme would have major negative impacts, firstly on the hunting and trapping activities of their people and secondly, on the migration patterns of many animals.

Small-scale energy production was recommended to the Royal Commission. Timber companies spoke of using their wood wastes as a fuel to operate pulp mills. Other visionaries spoke of methanol from wood as a substitute for gasoline.

Some people in the north reported themselves returning to the use of wood products for home heating and cooking. A few individual families in the north had experimented successfully with solar heating and wind generators which they thought might be more universally adapted to their environment.

Presentations before the Commission constituted compelling pleas and warnings — stressing among many questions for consideration, the importance of conservation, the finite nature of most northern resources and the need to treat those resources which are renewable with respect. Underlying all was the fear of northerners that, in the final analysis, decisions about major energy projects would be made without their knowledge or involvement.

Energy—Options and Alternatives

The history of the north is highlighted by distinct periods of economic dominance, first the fur trade, followed by timber cutting and gold mining, and now potential electric power production. In today's energy-hungry world, northerners can anticipate that the south will inevitably look to the north's energy resources — rivers, forests, coal and uranium.

This premonition about the future may explain why, during the course of its meetings in the north, the Commission heard views expressed by many groups and individuals about the need to develop and use sources of energy alternative to those that despoil the environment:

"Alternative methods of resource and energy development must be intensively research and examined. We believe that there are energy systems and technologies which respect the environment and are in keeping with the maintenance and development of the livelihood and lifestyle of native people. We particularly recommend that wind and solar power systems for the north be extensively studied by your Commission."

(Ontario Federation of Labour, Kenora, p. 2661)

The Canadian Coalition for Nuclear Responsibility also urged the Commission to direct attention to alternative energy sources for the north:

"In the broader issue of energy generally, one sees that the north possesses the opportunity to follow its own energy path, learning from the mistakes of the south . . . This Commission has the opportunity to examine alternatives in energy and lifestyles. Energy self-sufficiency would be a worthy goal for the north. Appropriate alternative technologies such as wind power should be examined. Any study of a contemporary society and its environment will inevitably lead to a confrontation with the energy element in the life of a community."

(Canadian Coalition for Nuclear Responsibility, Toronto, p. 2108)

At present the province depends almost entirely on non-renewable energy sources. Coupled with its forecast of oil and natural gas shortages by the mid-1980's, the Ministry of Energy declared that unless Ontario finds more secure energy sources we will be forced to depend on increasing amounts on foreign suppliers:

"That is looking forward ten years or so, and if we look even further into the future when natural gas and crude oil are in short supply, it is clear that the transition to renewable types of energy will be essential."

(Ministry of Energy, Toronto, p. 2232)

Our dependence on non-renewable sources of energy places Ontario in what the Ministry of Energy called a "somewhat insecure position." (p. 2232)

Several northerners expressed reservations about such a dependence and the little attention being given to research on alternative sources. One of them was a Kenora high school teacher:

"To illustrate the direction that science is now taking us, and towards which governments are pushing, it is sufficient to note that 75% of the money on energy research is spent on nuclear energy. Only one per cent is spent on so-called alternative sources such as wind, solar energy and biomass."

(David Schwartz, Kenora, p. 2963)

Concern was expressed about making the right decision now for future energy development:

"Without careful consideration, our energy future could be a damaging fact of life should we hastily choose the incorrect energy path. It is absolutely critical that one realizes the central role of energy policy in future development."

(Canadian Coalition for Nuclear Responsibility, Toronto, p. 2106)

Some people were disturbed that Ontario Hydro statistics showing power shortages in northwestern Ontario were being employed to justify Hydro's desire to go nuclear. They called for a careful examination of options and priorities:

" . . . so when northerners come to discuss the future of their own area, energy sources for future development must play a significant role. Let us not be caught in a Catch 22 lust for growth."

(Alex and Delia Rosenthal, Ear Falls, p. 813)

But what voice will northerners have in the energy debate?

"The most pressing developments in the energy field are the ever-increasing energy demands of a very powerful southern community."

(Canadian Coalition for Nuclear Responsibility, Toronto, p. 2106)

Ontario Hydro stated that the north was more dependent on the south for its energy needs than most people realized:

"Many people in the north believe that most of the electricity from our northeast generation is transported to southern Ontario . . . but generally speaking, just the opposite is true . . . Northern Ontario requires assistance from the . . . nuclear plants in the south to meet its electricity needs."

(Ontario Hydro, Timmins, p. 1220)

While parts of the north may eventually be dependent on power generated by southern nuclear plants, the major concern may not be how the power was produced, but disposal of nuclear wastes:

"There has been talk of using the north as a dump for nuclear waste. We all know that it takes hundreds, even thousands, of years for it to deactivate. I've also read where Pickering, Ontario might close down because it can't get rid of this waste. I can only speak for myself, but I feel confident that others will back me up in saying that we do not want our virgin countryside, lakes and rivers to become unavailable to us and others from the south because of radioactive material dumped there in the 1980's."

(Robert Bell, Sioux Lookout, p. 346)

Northerners' expressed concern had a factual basis, according to the Canadian Coalition for Nuclear Responsibility, quoting from Dr. Kenneth Hare's recently published report:¹

"Remoteness from settlements will probably be preferred by most members of the Canadian public. Few people want to see the repository close to their own homes. Hence the inhabitants of densely settled southern Ontario are likely to opt overwhelmingly for disposal in remote central or northern areas."

(Canadian Coalition for Nuclear Responsibility, Toronto, p. 2107)

Energy, Mines and Resources Canada, Energy Policy Sector, Report P77-6: The Management of Canada's Nuclear Wastes, by A.M. Aikin, M. Harrison and F.K. Hare (Chairman). Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1977.

Dr. Hare himself appeared before the Commission at hearings in Toronto and verified that his report had recommended the disposal of nuclear wastes underground in stable geological formations:

"Although at no point during the report do we say where, that actually means northern Ontario west of a line from Wawa to the Attawapiskat River."

(Dr. Kenneth Hare, Toronto, p. 2156)

Predictably, the immediate reaction of some northerners to nuclear waste disposal near them was negative:

"The members of council have individual concerns, but in particular, one concern we have is that northwestern Ontario may become a dumping ground for nuclear waste. Why has there been no direct government contact with concerned municipal organizations in this area?"

(Town of Keewatin, Kenora, p. 2652)

Although the die may already be cast, some people saw the simplest way to avoid the problem of nuclear waste disposal as ending further commitment to nuclear power:

"By shifting to more environmentally appropriate technologies and less consumption-oriented lifestyles, combined with communities and buildings of more efficient design, it may be possible to forestall for a long time, and perhaps forever, any need for additional nuclear power. This is desirable because nuclear power is probably the ultimate in hard technologies."

(David Schwartz, Kenora, p. 2957)

Aside from how energy is produced, efforts towards conservation must certainly be intensified in the view of a number of northern residents. Longer and colder winters in the north mean that fuel consumption for home heating is two or three times greater in the north than in the south (where energy prices are lower). Current government policies were criticized for not helping the north to cope with this reality:

"In regard to insulation of homes, it's great to say the government will help those owning a home built prior to 1924. Most communities north of the 50th parallel were not even in the making or even thought about till someone or something brought about their existence. I suggest that a standard of insulation be set in order to save energy, not what year the house was built in, then everyone might benefit in keeping down fuel consumption and costs."

(Robert Bell, Sioux Lookout, p. 345)

The Unorganized Communities Association of Northwestern Ontario (UCANO-West) told the Commission about its efforts:

"We have done a lot of research in this area of finding alternative energy sources to alleviate the higher cost of conventional energy in remote northern communities, and it is the hope of UCANO to be able to continue in this particular area over the years to come, but lack of staff has made it impossible to complete an analysis."

(UCANO-West, Kenora, p. 3001)

Community planning was raised as one means to reduce energy requirements:

"Communities should be designed in such a way as to reduce their demands on unrennewable energy sources . . . One very simple and effective method would be to simply align houses and streets in the community, and other buildings, in such a way that their major windows would be south-facing. Any south-facing window in this northern climate acts as an efficient net gainer of heat through our winters."

(David Schwartz, Kenora, p. 2956)

The town of Sioux Lookout felt that small-scale alternative energy technologies was an area they would like to explore:

"Small-scale production technology is a field where federally sponsored research could provide a substantial stimulus to the economy of small isolated towns such as our own. To mention just a few fields that we think are worthy of future research and which we think could substantially benefit communities like Sioux Lookout: solar energy, hydroponics, and processing of wood-waste on-site, or conversion into energy, conversion into methanol and conversion into heat."

(Town of Sioux Lookout, Sioux Lookout, p. 42)

Wood as a source of energy was a topic which received considerable attention. TREES (Taking Responsible Environmental and Economic Safeguards) pointed out that:

"The energy shortage and consequent high fuel prices have already sparked a return to the use of wood heat in this area as it has across the country. If we could make a few suppositions here, if communities north of 50 are forced to return en masse to their use of wood heat, how many acres per year of standing timber have to be cut to provide the necessary fuel?"

(TREES, Red Lake, p. 654)

The Kenora District Campowner's Association stressed the importance of wood in energy terms:

"Recently, since the energy crisis, it has been stated wood is the only inexhaustible energy supply in the world. Our concerns must encompass the possibility that the forests are worth much more than just the extraction of them by the paper industry."

(Kenora District Campowners Association, Dryden, p. 435)

The town of Sioux Lookout indicated that forest policy must take into account the potential of wood as an energy source:

"Sooner or later all the wood producing areas of the world will have to make similar commitments to regeneration — particularly as wood once again becomes an energy resource."

(Town of Sioux Lookout, Sioux Lookout, p. 31)

The Ministry of Energy described studies they are involved in which are testing the applicability of such alternate power sources as wood and wind:

"The ministry has various projects underway relating both to the northern part of the province and also to the province in general . . . to develop the commercial application covering such matters as wood waste and the project proposed at Hearst which would use energy from pulp mills for production of steam and perhaps electricity. Fuel such as methanol could also be developed and that is under consideration. Wind generation — in a word it is economical to consider wind power based on studies which we have had and we are quite hopeful that we can develop some such projects."

(Ministry of Energy, Toronto, p. 2236)

While solar energy may not be economically feasible on a year-round basis, the long summer days in the north mean that:

"Solar energy is feasible, if only for heating hot water tanks during the summer. People should reap the benefits of this free solar energy with little or no effect on the environment."

(Robert Bell, Sioux Lookout, p. 346)

There was a broadly expressed desire that society consider more environmentally-appropriate energy technologies as real and viable alternatives. As Jim Mezzatay of Cat Lake put it:

"I want to talk about the water harnessing schemes. With regards to the water damming and the diversion schemes, I have only this to say about them, the damming of these major river sources to generate hydro-electric power is not the only method of getting power. What must be done is to develop alternative power sources other than the use of this water."

(Jim Mezzatay, Osnaburgh, p. 1826)

Through their submissions, the people of the north did indicate that they were eager for energy resource development which can serve their needs; but such developments, they warned, must be so carefully planned that they do not destroy the environment.

Onakawana—Sizeable by any Measure

Of immediate concern to northeastern Ontario is the Onakawana Development Limited's proposal to strip mine a lignite coal deposit a few miles south of Moosonee. In its submission to the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment, the company reasoned that the coal could power a thermal generating plant or briquetted and shipped for use elsewhere. Many northerners expressed interest in the potential employment benefits while native people were concerned with how many northerners would, in fact, be hired. The effects on the environment from air and water pollution were also questioned.

Lignite—Brown Coal in Huge Deposits

What may well be the major development proposal for Ontario north of 50 in the immediate future is the project now being undertaken by Onakawana Development Limited, a subsidiary of Manalta Coal Limited of Alberta, a company currently operating six open cut coal mines in Saskatchewan and Alberta.

Onakawana Development Limited proposes to operate a large-scale lignite mining venture some 60 miles south of Moosonee, at a railway siding on the Ontario Northland Railway known as Onakawana on the Abitibi River.

In January 1973, a special task force with representatives from the Ministry of the Environment, Ministry of Natural Resources, Ontario Hydro, Management Board of Cabinet, the Conservation Council of Ontario and the local representatives of Moosonee reported to the Provincial Secretary for Resources Development on the mining of the lignite deposit at Onakawana.

The Onakawana Task Force concluded that, on balance, the local and regional effects of developing the resource could be advantageous provided appropriate steps were taken to maximize the benefit to the local people in the region and to minimize the adverse environmental effects.

There is no settlement at Onakawana and only a handful of people live in the immediate region. The economy of the lower Abitibi depends mainly on logging, sawmilling, trapping, tourists, hunters and public services. In the region of Onakawana, the land is flat, poorly drained, mainly black spruce muskeg.

There is, however, a huge deposit of lignite, low-grade brown coal, covering some eight square miles and estimated at about 190 million recoverable tons, currently valued at between 1.5 and 3 billion dollars depending upon the method of exploitation. While no full resource survey has been carried out in the area, the region does possess deposits of industrial minerals including china clay, silica sand, kaolin and limestone.

The proposal to strip mine the lignite deposit at Onakawana is one of the few known opportunities for large-scale economic development in the Hudson Bay Lowlands area.

To resource developers, the project has great appeal. To conservationists, the method of extraction — strip mining — arouses concerns about extensive environmental damage.

In their depositions to the Royal Commission, business interests saw open pit mining of the Onakawana lignite deposit as a highly productive, profitable enterprise, certainly less risky and dangerous than underground mining.

The proponent of this massive project¹, Onakawana Development Limited, maintained that its investment would provide several thousand jobs during the construction period and several hundred during the operational stage. There were, nevertheless, persistent questions regarding such development. "For whom?" and "At what cost?" — were continually repeated and posed at the hearings.

Northern residents voiced many anxieties. What will happen to the waters downstream from the mining site? What will happen to the birds, the animals and the people who depend upon these resources? If the project goes ahead what will be done to ensure that jobs do go to local people? What will be done to reclaim the land when all the lignite has been mined?

Underlying these concerns was the larger issue of whether the power envisioned by planners of this project was, indeed, needed in Ontario's overall energy prospects. The existence of Onakawana lignite has been known since the 17th century. Do we really need to mine now? If the answer is yes, then northern residents are ready with another question. Do we have time enough to plan properly for this development in the north? Many argued that we must ensure that that time is available if past mistakes are not to be repeated.

¹The proposal is to have the 190 million ton Onakawana lignite deposit strip mined, produce electricity in a 1000 megawatt on-site thermal generating station or briquette the coal for use elsewhere.



Onakawana—Light, Heat and Power—For Whose Benefit?

Onakawana Development Limited (ODL), signed a 21-year lease with the Ministry of Natural Resources, effective February 1, 1978, giving it the right to mine, stockpile and process lignite coal. Under the terms of the lease, ODL is required to establish within seven to nine years, or longer if approved by the Ministry of Natural Resources, a mining operation which will mine, produce, sell or otherwise utilize not less than one million tons of mined coal each year thereafter.

Before any construction can begin, however, the project must undergo an environmental assessment, as the project has been designated for review under the Environmental Assessment Act.

The end use of the lignite coal remains uncertain at this time (mid-1978). It is important to note, however, that whatever facilities are proposed, a thermal power generating plant or processing facilities for the lignite, these facilities will be reviewed in advance under the Environmental Assessment Act.

Onakawana Development Limited has proposed two alternative uses for the lignite. Their representative, Olaf Wolff, speaking to the Commission at Timmins, stated that:

"There are two ways in which the Onakawana lignite deposit can be developed:

- 1) To supply lignite to a mine-mouth thermal power generating station from which the power could be distributed via the Ontario Hydro distribution grid;*
- 2) alternatively, the lignite deposit could be developed to serve industrial and local power needs, principally in northern Ontario . . . On-site upgrading of the low grade Onakawana lignite to increase its heating value, to reduce its moisture content and to put it in a suitable shipping form would probably be required."*

(Onakawana Development Limited, Timmins, p. 944)

Ontario Hydro has not yet decided to construct a thermal power plant at Onakawana. When questioned by Commission counsel as to the economic feasibility of Onakawana lignite for a power generating station, Ontario Hydro stated that:

"The results of the 1973 study which compared Onakawana with nuclear and the United States coal-fired plants, proved that nuclear was far cheaper than Onakawana and that Onakawana was somewhat more expensive than United States coal-fired plants at that time."

(Ontario Hydro, Timmins, p. 1228)

Ontario Hydro confirmed, however, that it is reconsidering the feasibility of power from Onakawana:

"It is being re-studied based on a proposal by the Shawinigan Company. The mining methods and the fuel costs have been studied by the Onakawana Development Limited, with Hydro providing information on incorporation, operation and maintenance costs, financial and escalation rates . . . At this point in time it cannot be said whether the project is feasible or not feasible in an economic sense."

(Ontario Hydro, Timmins, p. 1226)

Some northerners have interpreted Ontario Hydro's reluctance to become involved in the Onakawana proposal as an indication that the power is not required, even though Onakawana Development Limited has promoted the project on the basis of the energy it could provide.

A spokesman for Onakawana Development Limited told the Commission that:

"Despite recent conservation measures, the energy demand in Ontario continues to rise and even the most conservative projections indicate the need for increasing power generation to meet increasing energy requirements. To this end, the Onakawana lignite deposit, comprising 190 million tons of low grade lignite with an average heating value of approximately 5,000 BTU per pound, can satisfy in a very significant way, some of the forecasted needs for power and energy."

(Onakawana Development Limited, Timmins, p. 944)

Dr. John Spence, a scientist, speaking on behalf of Treaty #9, was not convinced, however, and responded to Onakawana Development Limited's statement with this argument:

"The fact is that the Onakawana increment is not part of Ontario's power demand projections. Present hydroelectric installations on the Abitibi and Mattagami rivers serve local needs and there is still quite a lot of untapped small-scale hydro potential in this watershed. On a provincial scale, Ontario is committed to nuclear energy and we all know that. The Bruce and Pickering generating stations are functioning and further capacity is planned at Darlington. I would submit there is no proven need of Onakawana power."

(Dr. John Spence, Timmins, p. 1086)

Dr. Thomas Alcoze of Laurentian University also felt that the Onakawana proposal did not make sense unless some need for the power could be revealed. He suggested one possible demand for the energy:

"Curiously enough, this single project has been considered so marginal for the last 50 years, that it has never been developed. However, a source close to the project has linked this thermal generating plant to the river diversion scheme.¹ It would supply the necessary energy for the diversion."

(Dr. Thomas Alcoze, Toronto, p. 2048)

¹Ontario Hydro has been contemplating a massive diversion of the rivers flowing into James Bay. Full study, however, awaits the report of the Royal Commission on Electric Power Planning.

Other people told the Commission that there was a need for the power that the Onakawana lignite could provide:

"We are very interested in the development of the lignite site at Onakawana. With the serious shortage of fuel and inflated costs, it is time to get on with the development . . . If electrical power can be generated from lignite deposits within reasonable costs, then let us press for the development post-haste rather than go the route of a nuclear generating station with their excessive costs and, more particularly, with the atomic waste that no one has yet found a reasonable means of safely disposing of."

(Town of Cochrane, Timmins, p. 1160)

Arnold Peters, MP for Timiskaming, argued that development of Onakawana's power should be considered, but he was reluctant to allow the past pattern of development to repeat itself:

"With the shortage of energy occasioned by the price increases in crude oil, first by the OPEC countries and closely followed by the Seven Sisters (the multinational oil companies) other forms of energy became feasible and it certainly is time to look at lignite as a fuel source . . . It appears that Ontario is considering giving this resource to a private company and Ontario Hydro because southern Ontario needs it. Same old story. What a wonderful surprise if, instead, the government, on our behalf, developed the resource, produced electricity and electrified the Ontario Northland Railway from Moosonee to Toronto; and then maybe residents of the north could reduce drastically the cost of transportation on the most efficient and environmentally advanced railroad on the continent. Why not? It's our resource. It's our railroad. Why not the northern people get the primary benefit just this once, through reduced passenger and freight rates?"

(Arnold Peters, MP, Moosonee, p. 3119)

The Mayor of Smooth Rock Falls recommended a somewhat different approach to Onakawana:

"I suggest that the use of this resource be not solely confined to the export of power from that area down over the 500,000 volt lines to the grid in Sudbury and distributed thereafter throughout southern Ontario and across the border. I suggest that the kaolin deposits there be developed even to a minimal basis, to put a third industry in Ontario besides mining in northern Ontario."

(Town of Smooth Rock Falls, Timmins, p. 2317)

Others, such as the Prospectors and Developers Association, saw Onakawana as providing needed power to stimulate further mining activity and expansion:

"Hopes for the continued development of northern Ontario are closely linked to mining expansion. The proposed development of the lignite coal mine at Onakawana, the only known coal field of significant size in the province, is an example of a mining operation, which, if proven viable, would be an important potential source of thermally generated power."

(Prospectors and Developers Association, Timmins, p. 1179)

Speakers who felt that Onakawana power was needed were mainly those who believed that the economy of northeastern Ontario sorely required some sort of stimulus, providing jobs, and leading to other industrial activity:

"These jobs could provide a much-needed source of employment for the native people. We agree with Onakawana Development Limited that locally generated power should encourage other industry to locate in the area, thereby providing a further source of employment for native people."

(James Bay Education Centre, Moosonee, p. 3142)

The priority concern was jobs — how many, for how long, who will get them, and how immediately and badly are they needed? Onakawana Development Limited described the magnitude of the project to the Commission:

"The mine development alone will cost well over \$100 million. During its three year construction and pre-production period, an average of 300 persons will be employed with an annual payroll of over \$6 million . . . With subsequent operations, a total of 200 persons will be required to mine and process the coal on a round-the-clock basis . . . Annual payroll for each of the full 30 years of the mining operation will amount to over \$5 million. If a major power plant were to be located adjacent to the mine, additional capital expenditures exceeding \$1 billion would be required; a construction crew of up to 2,000 would be employed for the five-year construction period, many of whom could be local residents; and a permanent staff of 150 people

with an annual payroll in excess of \$4 million would be needed during the following 30-year operating period."

(Onakawana Development Limited, Timmins, p. 947)

Communities in the area expressed enthusiasm over the Onakawana project:

"It will provide much-needed employment for the whole northeastern area. With the high level of unemployment and mass layoffs at Sudbury, the lignite development will help to ease this very serious situation."

(Town of Cochrane, Timmins, p. 1160)

For an area with a high level of unemployment, such as the Moosonee-Cochrane region, the jobs offered by the Onakawana project would provide welcome relief:

"We believe that this proposed development at Onakawana could, if properly handled, be a real godsend to the people of Moosonee, Cochrane and other communities in the area."

(Cochrane Board of Trade, Timmins, p. 1137)

Treaty #9, however, did not consider the Onakawana project a "godsend" but rather a serious failure to end the exploitation of the past:

"We do not know how any group of people can be so shortsighted as to advocate any non-renewable, one-industry ventures such as Onakawana, which has a projected lifespan of approximately 40 years under ideal conditions. These groups are so very desperate for employment that they feel that 'band-aid' solutions are necessary. There is enough evidence on hand to prove that the boom and bust cycle will simply continue from such projects, and that more than likely there will be great environmental damage."

(Treaty #9, Moosonee, p. 3090)

Whether the Onakawana development was the best way to help northerners and the northern economy was also questioned:

"Jobs, but at what cost? Is this really the best and cheapest way of creating employment in the north? When you strip away the high-sounding phrases and promises that were made last night (in Onakawana Development Limited's submission) I think the answer is that they contribute very little."

(Dr. John Spence, Timmins, p. 1087)

The Cochrane Board of Trade was not prepared, however, to accept this kind of argument:

"We feel obliged to comment on the claim that an industry expected to last only 40 years does not represent permanent employment . . . In these times of world-wide economic uncertainty any industrial development with an estimated life of 40 years can be considered permanent . . . Those of us whose economic existence must take place in the real world would welcome such 'insecurity'."

(Cochrane Board of Trade, Timmins, p. 1138)

While most people felt that Onakawana could in fact be justified on the basis of the jobs it would provide to an area sorely in need of employment, they expressed some doubts that these jobs would actually go to local people:

"We would be naive to assume that the north, Moosonee more specifically, would benefit the most of such projects as Onakawana. Only limited employment would come our way, but we are underestimated by most as to our resources and capabilities when it comes to adapting to new and different challenges. Given even ground we can compete well with any. We may have to learn new skills and improve on some."

(Moosonee Development Area Board, Moosonee, p. 3110)

The James Bay Education Centre stressed that:

"Local people must be used if development of the James Bay Lowlands is to benefit those now living in this area, as it should."

(James Bay Education Centre, Moosonee, p. 3142)

Similar sentiments were expressed by the Moosonee Board of Trade:

"Onakawana wishes to open a large development in this area and is willing, according to their spokesmen, to hire local peoples if they have the necessary skills for the available jobs. We should be charged, as businessmen, with the responsibility of the training; and industry, with the responsibility of job availability."

(Moosonee Board of Trade, Moosonee, p. 3162)

The Moosonee Metis and Non-Status Indian Association was anxious that their people find jobs with Onakawana:

"With regard to employment, when the Onakawana mine opens, hopefully, this will create jobs for the people in our area, but out of these jobs what per cent will be open for the residents of Moosonee and Moose Factory and the coastal communities? Will it be a quarter, a third or a half? I certainly hope it will be as close to a half as possible because we are suffering from a high rate of unemployment."

(Moosonee Metis and Non-Status Indian Association, Moosonee, p. 3199)

The James Bay Education Centre stressed that if native people are to be employed to any substantial degree by Onakawana, special training courses should begin immediately to ensure that they possess the necessary skills:

"Our people are most anxious to find employment. However, sufficient lead time must be provided to train individuals to work at jobs which require training. There is this time with the Onakawana development. Much of the labour force will not be needed until 1980 and onward. The facilities of the James Bay Education Centre should be utilized to provide job training for native people to the fullest possible extent."

(James Bay Education Centre, Moosonee, p. 3142)

The Commission learned that some discussions had already occurred between Onakawana Development Limited and the James Bay Education Centre. Onakawana Development Limited expressed an interest in the hiring of native people:

"This (the project) should provide a unique opportunity for the native peoples in the Moosonee to Cochrane region to participate fully in the development of a new resource base, to acquire new skills, to stabilize family incomes and to enrich their lives by blending traditional cultures and modes of living with a modern enterprise. Onakawana Development Limited is familiar with the innovative studies undertaken by the Confederation College of Applied Arts and Technology at Thunder Bay on the training of native employees and supervisors and the use of cultural awareness seminars for the Pickle Lake development project. Relying on these and similar experiences, we would encourage the co-operation and participation of native groups and leaders in the design and undertaking of hiring, training and employee relation programs which would optimize the use of native peoples. While such programs would not be operative for several years, the management of this company is quite willing to meet with the Treaty # 9 Grand Council officials and local band chiefs and councils at any time to develop plans for future action."

(Onakawana Development Limited, Timmins, p. 949)

The Commission was reminded on several occasions that the Pickle Lake project of preparing local Indian people for employment was not viewed as successful at all by local Indian communities in terms of providing attractive employment opportunities or economic returns.

Some native people were not impressed by the prospect of Onakawana being developed. Chief Charlie Okeese, speaking for Treaty # 9, at the opening hearing in Sioux Lookout, told the Commission that:

"The project would directly threaten the economy of our people of the southern James Bay region."

(Treaty # 9, Sioux Lookout, p. 121)

Others described other risks of an environmental nature:

"With a 1,000 megawatt powerplant, the cooling water requirements are enormous. It is conceivable that the entire flow of the Abitibi river past the plant might be required for cooling and large amounts of chlorine-contaminated thermal effluent would be released. This would radically alter the environment of the downstream river system and could lead to a drastic decline in the indigenous fish population. And at this point in time, Mr. Commissioner, I think we have no idea to what extent the native people utilize the lower Moose basin and the adjacent coastal areas of James Bay . . . The acidification question was very pointedly avoided in the Onakawana Development Limited brief. The feasibility studies and, I anticipate, the plant design do not contemplate the scrubbing of sulphur compounds from the stack emissions, and here we have a parallel with . . . the plant at Atikokan."

(Dr. John Spence, Timmins, p. 1089)

Concern about acidification relates to the possibility of sulphur dioxide in stack emissions acidifying the rain falling on northeastern Ontario and Quebec, and, as a result, reducing the productivity of forests, lakes and rivers. Associated with this would be a decline in wildlife and fish populations, upon which the native people depend for both food and income.

The Moose Factory Band Council, while not opposing the Onakawana project, stressed its concern that the environment be maintained and that development be carefully controlled:

"We are not anti-development, but I want to emphasize that protective measures will have to be taken to ensure that a minimum social disruption will have to be realized, should any large development be undertaken, namely the Onakawana project. And I would like to underline that the developers and government unequivocally guarantee that no environmental damage will emanate from the stacks of any plant. One river system killed off is one river system too many."

(Moose Factory Band Council, Moose Factory, p. 3295)

The James Bay Cree Society also expressed concern for rivers, based on what had happened in the past:

"The Onakawana Lignite Development Corporation has promised the native people of our area jobs for at least 30 years. They are also going to divert the Medicine Creek and the Onakawana River into the Abitibi River. This would certainly destroy wildlife species in these areas. The Abitibi River was once a magnificent river and had an abundance of many species of fine fish. Today, from the many dams on its system, the Abitibi River is dry and now unsuitable to travel on because of dirty muddy waters. Fish in this river have now completely disappeared. The Abitibi and Moose Rivers would certainly be completely contaminated from the waste disposals from the Onakawana project and the river diversions."

(James Bay Cree Society, Moose Factory, p. 2318)

Onakawana Development Limited felt that environmental effects would be minimal and manageable:

"It is generally agreed that the area which will be mined at Onakawana is not 'sensitive' environmentally . . . Fundamentally, Mr. Commissioner, anything that improves drainage and replaces the top layer of muskeg with more fertile soil or till would improve the growing conditions and enhance wildlife habitat. In essence that is what strip mining the overburden, followed by proper reclamation, would do."

(Onakawana Development Limited, Timmins, p. 951)

While accepting an environmental assessment under the Environmental Assessment Act and recognizing the need for environmental standards, Onakawana Development Limited made it clear that it was not prepared to go ahead if these standards and the assessment process proved too stringent. After listing what they had spent to date on environmental studies and what reclamation could be expected to cost, Onakawana Development Limited stated:

"For land which has little value to man today, that is an expensive price to pay merely to restore it to its

present condition. Fortunately, at Onakawana, there is a confident possibility that after reclamation, the area will have measurable increase in value as a re-creation area for man and productive habitat for wildlife."

(Onakawana Development Limited, Timmins, p. 956)

Onakawana Development Limited's assertions about reclamation were challenged by Dr. John Spence:

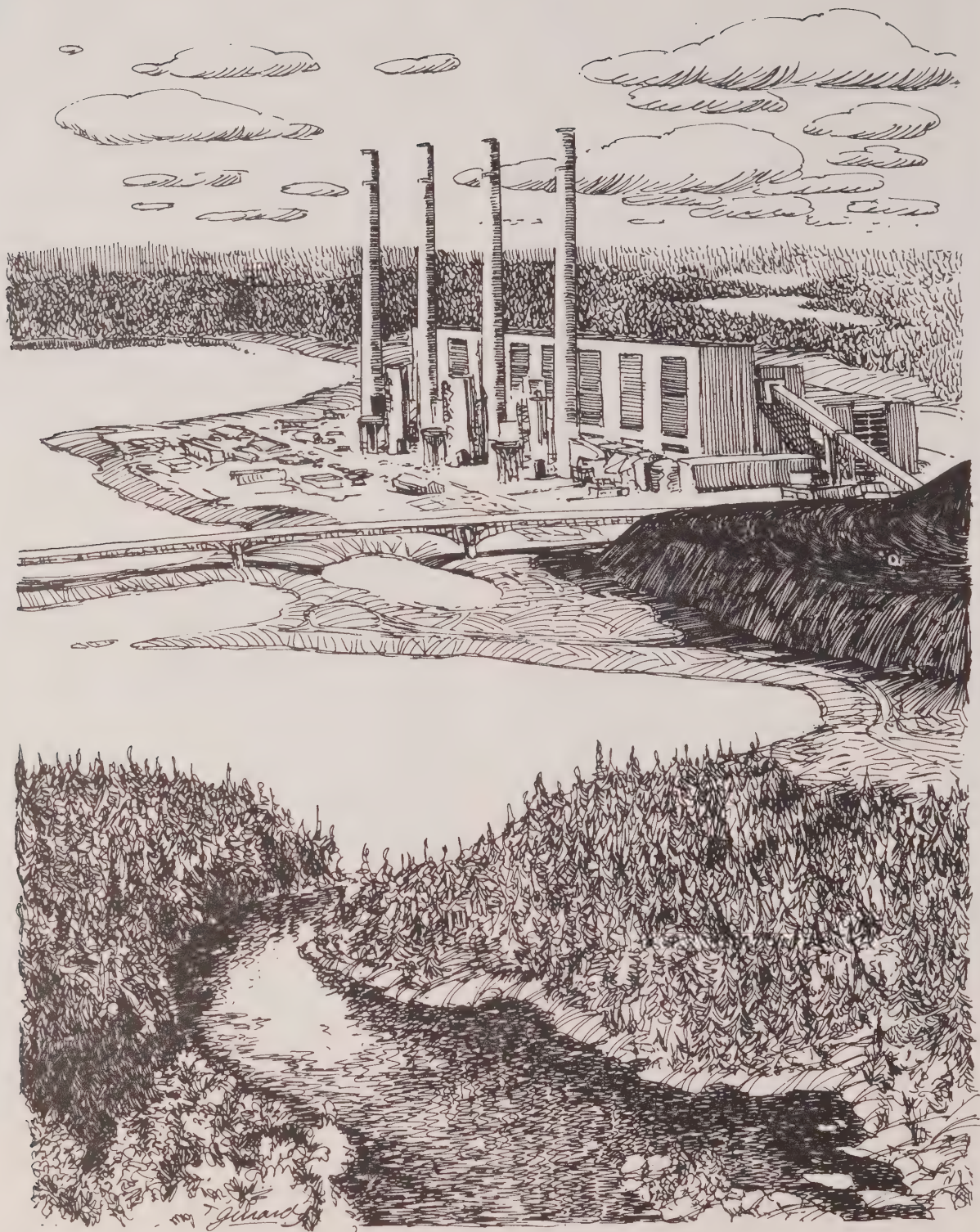
"The parent company of Onakawana Development Limited, Manalta Coal Ltd., must be very aware of the difficulties and costs experienced in rehabilitating and revegetating areas that they have mined at Saskatchewan and Alberta, and I think, Mr. Commissioner, that if this enquiry decided to look at that past experience they would find enormous literature and very many problems in rehabilitating strip mines. Mr. Wolff's rosy picture of regenerating vegetation and wildlife is, at best I would submit, an experimental possibility."

(Dr. John Spence, Timmins, p. 1091)

Dr. Spence also felt that it was unlikely that a truly comprehensive assessment could be made under the Environmental Assessment Act, because it would look at the project in isolation and would not fully explore alternatives. The terms of reference of the assessment itself would not be set with the involvement of northerners and native people as well as government.

On April 4, 1978, the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment, in its interim report recommended that:

Onakawana Development Limited and the Ministry of the Environment should take immediate steps to discuss fully and openly the planned environmental assessment of the proposed lignite mine south of Moosonee with local communities and affected groups and that the company undertake to meet their concerns in its assessment. It is essential that the Commission should play an observing and counselling role in this first opportunity to test the Environmental Assessment Act process in relation to a major non-renewable resource project in the study area.



Marmion Lake Project Worries Northerners

The Royal Commission was told that Ontario Hydro is proceeding with plans for the construction of an 800 megawatt coal-fired, electricity generating station near Atikokan. Despite Hydro's insistence that the projected plant will be designed so as not to harm the environment, many northerners persisted in their fears that the plant's sulphur dioxide emissions will harm both the land and the people, and that the operation of the plant on such a large scale could lead to permanent contamination of the waters. A public assessment of the plant was requested by northern spokesmen addressing the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment.

Power Proposal Generates Differences

The plans of Ontario Hydro to build a one billion dollar thermal generating station near Atikokan, Ontario aroused considerable debate at the hearings of the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment.

While the plant actually will be sited south of 50, the Commission determined to hear submissions concerning the Marmion Lake project to see if any lessons could be learned from the way in which the project had been assessed and implemented.

With the prospect of iron ore mines¹ in the area closing within two years, representatives of the town of Atikokan told the Commission that they welcomed the Hydro project, mainly because it was a potential provider of jobs which would help stabilize the community during the current period of flux. Environmentalists, on the other hand, wondered whether the prospect of short-term construction jobs and relatively few permanent ones was worth the probable cost of the purity of the air and water of the region. Indian people, in particular, recalled negative experiences in the past, such as Ontario Hydro flooding of their lands without adequate compensation or advance preparation.

In response, Ontario Hydro representatives said that adequate safeguards do exist in the design and operation of the Marmion Lake plant, precautions which would prevent any significant negative effects to the environment.

Native people, nevertheless, remained anxious. They recalled hearing similar assurances in the past, statements assuaging fears regarding mercury pollution from pulp and paper mills. Northerners generally questioned whether the anticipated sulphur dioxide emissions and their link to mercury being released in water systems would, in time, spell the end to their traditional livelihoods of trapping, hunting and fishing. Ontario Hydro submissions rated the proposed plant as essential if the energy needs of northwestern Ontario are to be met in the future, otherwise brown-outs were predicted for the north.

A strong representation was made to the Commission that the Marmion Lake project be reviewed under the Environmental Assessment Act, even though it was excluded from such a review by the Ontario Cabinet on the grounds that the project was too far advanced in the planning to be reconsidered. In January 1978, clearing of the Marmion Lake construction site began, even though environmental and social questions remained unresolved, a matter of concern to northerners.

¹Caland Iron Ore Co. Ltd. and Steep Rock Iron Mines Ltd.

Acid Rain—Unwelcome Byproduct

A number of northerners made a point of expressing their concern to the Royal Commission that Ontario Hydro's Marmion Lake power project had been exempted from the Environmental Assessment Act. Passed in 1975 by the Ontario Legislature, the Environmental Assessment Act provides for the gauging of the impact of both private and government projects on the environment. Public and government projects are automatically assessed, unless they become exempted by a Cabinet decision. For a privately-initiated project to be examined under the act, regulations must be passed by Cabinet stating that the project is to be assessed.

By the time the Environmental Assessment Act became operative in October 1976, the provincial government believed that certain public projects were so far advanced that it would be impractical to require them to go through the environmental assessment procedure. The Marmion Lake coal-fired generating station near Atikokan in northwestern Ontario was one such project. Ontario Hydro by this time had completed its own preliminary environmental analysis. A representative of Ontario Hydro explained to the Commission the process by which the project was exempted from the Environmental Assessment Act:

"Because of the advanced stage of planning and design for this development at the time of issuance of the regulations under the Environmental Assessment Act, Atikokan generating station received exemption from that act on October 14, 1976 (Order-in-Council No. 2887/76), subject to the following terms and conditions:

"That Ontario Hydro continue the present environmental analysis and public participation process, which was developed for the undertaking and well underway before the act came into force, and submit final proposals for the undertaking, including documentation of the public participation and review by Ontario government ministries, before beginning construction".

(Ontario Hydro, Nakina, p. 1470)

Ontario Hydro submitted to the government, in June 1977, an updated environmental analysis and documentation of public participation. The project gained cabinet approval at that time under Order-in-Council 1707/77.

Representatives of several native communities told the Commission they feared the consequences of the Marmion Lake project. These people claimed that they did not know that public meetings were held in Atikokan to discuss the proposed development. Nor had they seen the technical and environmental studies which Ontario Hydro had commissioned. An Ontario Hydro spokesman stated:

"In the public participation program, to my knowledge there were no native people in attendance."

(Ontario Hydro, Nakina, p. 1474)

The public meetings and the reports used English. The majority of the Indian people in the affected communities speak Ojibway.

The Commission was told that Ontario Hydro had decided against installing scrubbers, which would cost between \$60 and 100 million, because the environmental damage they would prevent was not sufficient to warrant such an expense. (Scrubbers are devices installed in the chimney stacks of the plant to reduce the emissions of sulphur dioxide and other pollutants produced by burning the coal.) Native spokesmen claimed the scrubbers were needed. Ontario Hydro claimed that even without the scrubbers the plant would meet the environmental standards of the Ontario government:

"Certainly the issue of the pollution from our Atikokan plant has been of interest to Ontario Hydro because we have had to prepare an environmental assessment for that plant to make sure that the plant operated within the regulations of the provincial government and it certainly operates well within the regulations."

(Ontario Hydro, Nakina, p. 1473)

Because of the proximity of the plant site to the United States border, more than Ontario standards are involved. As Treaty #3 representatives pointed out:

*"While the proposed power plant will meet the sulphur dioxide standards of Canada and Ontario, the project will violate the United States and Minnesota standards."*¹

(Treaty #3, Dryden, p. 425)

¹In February 1978, the Ministry of the Environment submitted a report to the Commission entitled "The Atikokan Generating Station: A Discussion of Background and Status." The Ministry was satisfied that the sulphur dioxide (SO₂) levels will meet not only provincial and federal standards, but would be "far below the threshold at which injurious environmental effects are known to occur." With respect to the United States and Minnesota standards for SO₂ levels, the ministry acknowledged that the generating station would not meet these standards. However, its officials pointed out that:

"The level of five micrograms/cubic meter is also below the measuring capabilities of any SO₂ meters now available in the world. The Minnesota standard, therefore, is not enforceable, since the level to be obtained is a calculated, theoretical figure and cannot be measured."

The ministry acknowledged that SO₂ levels coming from the Marmion Lake Station would have to be considered against the already existing background level of SO₂ and other pollutants in the environment.

The Ministry of the Environment and Ontario Hydro are carrying out a joint monitoring program on air and water quality in the area surrounding the Marmion Lake plant that will provide two to three years of pre-operation information about existing pollutants. The Ministry of the Environment report stated that:

"If significant changes are recorded, then the need for scrubbers will be re-evaluated."

It should be noted that Ontario Hydro intends to leave space in its construction plans for future addition of flue gas scrubbers if required at a later date.

The Commission learned in April 1978 that, while Canada had rejected submitting the Marmion Lake project for review by the International Joint Commission, the United States Environmental Protection Agency was studying the plant's possible effects.

At a later hearing, the possibility was raised of a disagreement between Canada and the United States over the project's effects:

"We now understand that the United States State Department have asked for a moratorium on the project until experts can assess its environmental impact. We also understand that the United States government may ask the International Joint Commission to intervene in the matter."

(Treaty # 3, Kenora, p. 2562)

At issue is the effect of sulphur dioxide on the environment. Some scientists believe certain sulphur dioxide levels in the atmosphere can result in the acidification of rainfall and consequently of lakes and rivers. This could lead to the destruction of vegetation, and decline in the number of fish, birds and animals.

The Indian people's dependency on fresh water resources caused their concern about Hydro pollution. Treaty #3 brought a scientist, Dr. James R. Kramer, to speak before the Commission, who testified on the impact of long-range atmospheric transport of sulphur dioxide on the northern environment:

"First of all, from our estimates, long-range transport and deposition of atmospheric pollutants extend at least to 55 north latitude in this area of Ontario. This is the lower limit because we have not measured the deposition any further north than that . . . The depositional level over the northwestern part of Ontario at present is sufficient to marginally destroy the accumulative capacity of the most susceptible lakes . . . The pollutants consist basically of acid sulphates and nitrates as well as trace metals and a few other substances, and basically their acid nature decreases the buffering capacity in the lakes and the lakes become acid and fish mortality sets in . . . In northern Ontario, much of the pollutants at present are imported from the United States . . . Emissions from proposed developments must be considered as adding to this background which is at present marginal for the most susceptible lakes."

(Treaty #3, Dryden, p. 428)

Treaty #3 spoke of the effect of rain acidified by sulphur dioxide emission:

"Acid rain destroys trees, shrubs and mosses, and gradually kills the fish in lakes and rivers."

(Treaty #3, Kenora, p. 2561)

There is another possible effect arising from acid rain which Treaty #3 representatives mentioned:

"In Scandinavia, fish biologists were puzzled by unexpectedly high mercury levels in fish in a lake where no mercury had been dumped. The natural mercury in the environment was no greater in this lake than in the lakes of Scandinavia without a mercury problem. The Scandinavian scientists concluded that acid rain had fallen on the high mercury lake."

(Treaty #3, Kenora, p. 2563A)

What appears to have happened is that heavy metals such as mercury were leached from nearby land by the acid rain:

"As you know, Mr. Commissioner, we have far too much mercury in our river systems already. We do not need any more."

(Treaty #3, Kenora, p. 2563A)

Treaty #3 urged that Ontario Hydro be required to incorporate the best available technology to protect air and water quality:

" . . . the native people have been forced to carry the physical, social, cultural and environmental costs of projects such as Marmion Lake too long. Governments have repeatedly played environmental roulette with our lifestyles. It is prime time that someone stopped this insane game."

(Treaty #3, Kenora, p. 2564)

At the Commission's preliminary hearings, representatives of Treaty #3 called for a full environmental assessment of the Marmion Lake proposal with native participation:

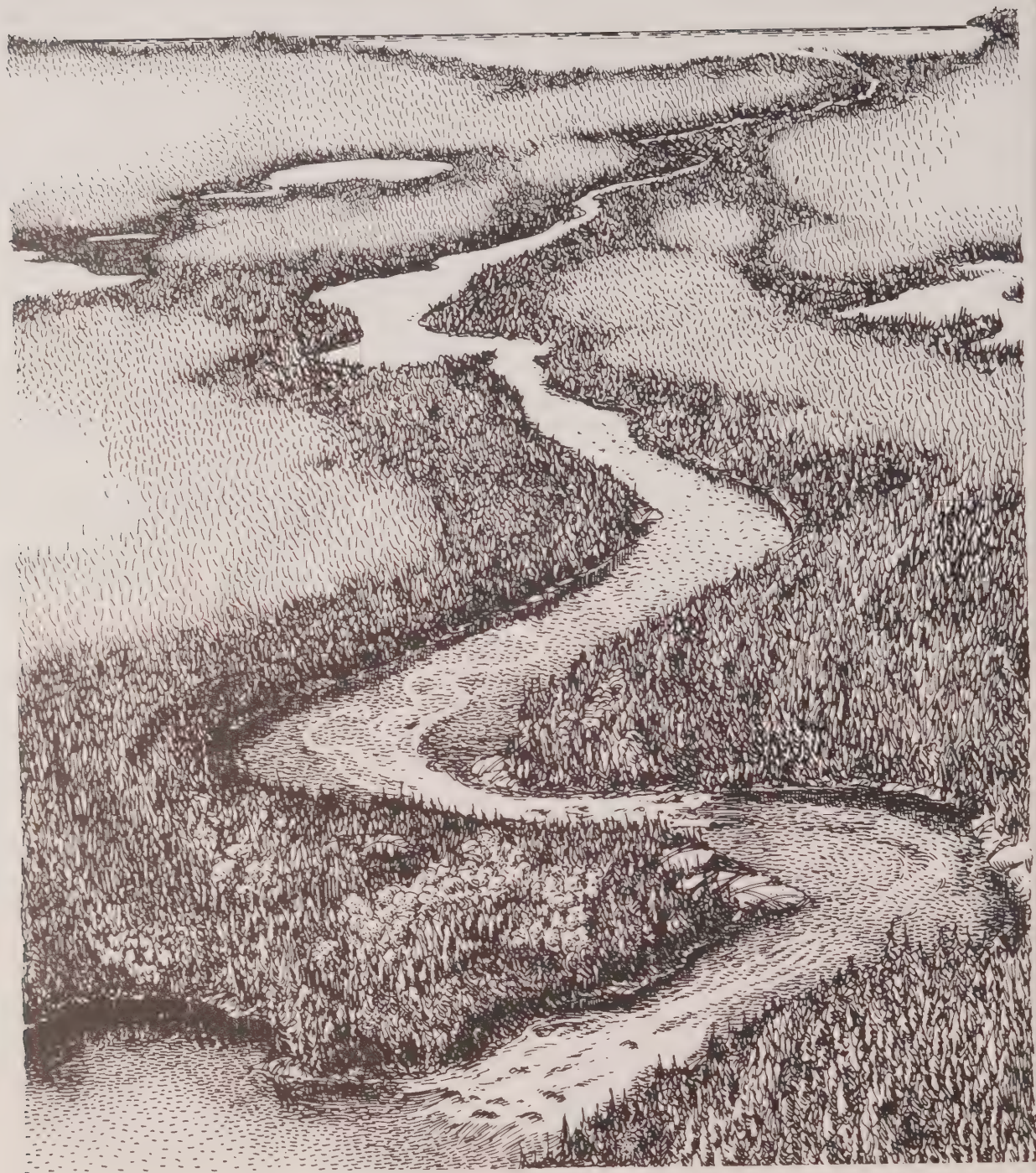
"Perhaps if public hearings into the project were held, Ontario Hydro could be convinced to apply sane and reasonable conservation practices, like building scrubbers into the plant."

(Treaty #3, Kenora, p. 2860)

In summary, Chief Peter Kelly set straight Treaty #3's position:

"It has been reported that Treaty #3 is trying to stop the project. That is incorrect. We are merely trying to force Hydro to incorporate proper pollution-control devices in their power generating station."

(Treaty #3, Kenora, p. 2863)



The North's Wild Rivers—Their Power Potential

The Royal Commission was told that Ontario Hydro has studied the feasibility of harnessing power from northern rivers flowing into James and Hudson Bays. Although mining interests urged the development of this potential, native people expressed their fears that future development would bring them nothing more than had been experienced in the past — flooding and the social and economic destruction of their communities. However, a common ground was found when both Hydro and native people discussed the possibility of small-scale hydroelectric power supplying local needs.

Water Harnessing Excites Fears

Northern speakers stated their gratitude for nature's provision of ample water in their regions.

In northern Ontario, water is as prevalent as land. The waterways were the first highways for travellers through this country. The first fur trading posts and settlements were on major lakes and rivers and relied on transport by canoe. The forest industries used the rivers to help drive timber to markets. The mining industry has also relied heavily on the north's abundant waters.

The north's lakes and rivers have provided northern residents with fresh water and food for centuries.

In the late 19th century, rivers were first harnessed to turn turbines and produce electricity. An assessment of all potential hydro sites over ten horsepower was made throughout the province with a view toward future development.

Hydroelectric potential was a consideration in government deliberations regarding both Treaty #3 and Treaty #9, at the turn of the century. With regard to Treaty #9, it was decided that:

"No site suitable for development of water-power exceeding 500 horsepower shall be included within the boundaries of any reserve."¹

Ontario Hydro did not require northern water power immediately. Although the Ogoki River diversion and Lac Seul were developed in the 1920's, the English River's potential was not tapped until the 1950's. In the late 1960's a plan to divert the major rivers of northern Ontario flowing into James Bay came to the attention of the public. Behind this massive water diversion scheme was a proposal to sell either water or hydroelectric power to the United States.

Most northerners were of the opinion that water project plans be assessed not in isolation but together with other major projects proposed for the north.

¹The James Bay Treaty, Treaty #9 Made in 1905 and 1906 and Adhesions Made in 1929 and 1930, "Agreement between the Dominion of Canada and the Province of Ontario," Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1964, p. 27.

Water Power Projects—What Impacts?

Some of the last free-flowing wild rivers in Ontario with potential for hydroelectric power generation lie north of 50. The Commission was informed that various studies have been done to determine the feasibility of damming these rivers for the purposes of diversion south and for producing hydroelectric power.

Dr. Douglas Pimlott told the Commission that in 1965 a co-ordinating committee on northern Ontario water resources studies was established to examine the feasibility of diversion of the following river systems: Severn, Winisk, Attawapiskat, Albany and Moose. The committee's statement of objectives was:

"With respect to waters draining into James and Hudson Bay in Ontario, to assess the quantity and quality of water resources for all purposes; to determine present and future requirements for such waters; and to assess alternative possibilities for the utilization of such waters locally or elsewhere through diversions."

(Dr. Douglas Pimlott, Timmins, p. 917)

The committee made 13 progress reports between September 1966 and May 1977 in which references were made to approximately 40 reports on a variety of studies including technical aspects of water flow, engineering feasibility, geology, economic and cost-benefit analysis that included river diversion options. Dr. Pimlott pointed out that:

"It appears to me that the joint studies provide comprehensive data on virtually every relevant aspect of the development of the five basins, except for the potential socio-cultural and environmental impacts of such projects."

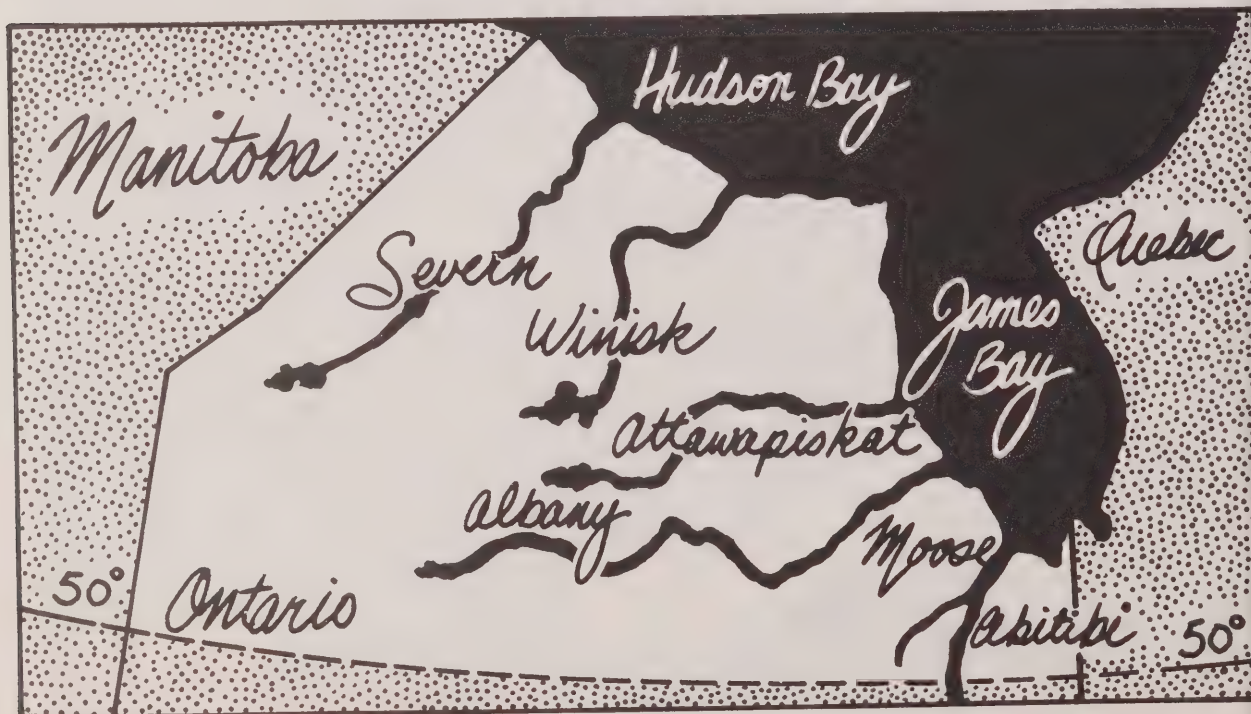
(Dr. Douglas Pimlott, Timmins, p. 918)

Dr. Pimlott outlined the public reaction to the prospect of river diversions and the possibility of exporting fresh water to the United States. In 1972, the federal and provincial governments issued news releases stating that no consideration was being given to water diversion for export to the United States.

Dr. Pimlott pointed out:

"The joint announcements made by the federal and Ontario governments in 1972 stated only that no consideration had been given to the export of water to the United States . . . There has been no official disavowal of interest in other aspects of the water resource potential of the region . . . Factors which mitigate against such a disavowal are the urgent desire for economic growth in northern Ontario, the forthcoming energy crisis, the quest for energy self-sufficiency, and the widespread belief that hydroelectricity is a pollution-free source of energy."

(Dr. Douglas Pimlott, Timmins, p. 919)



When Ontario Hydro appeared before the Commission, its representatives indicated that Hydro had participated in the original studies undertaken by the coordinating committee, although the federal government had played the leading role. Hydro was convinced by the studies and reports that diversion schemes were not feasible:

"The proposal was deemed very uneconomic, mainly due to the high cost of the major diversions and the high cost of incorporating the facilities into our power grid."

(Ontario Hydro, Timmins, p. 1223)

In its written submission to the Commission, Ontario Hydro stated that:

"Investigative work on northern rivers was suspended in 1976 because the government directed that no development of the Albany be undertaken pending the completion of the work of the Royal Commission on Electric Power Planning. Recently the provincial government clarified its position, indicating that no on-site studies are to be undertaken but office studies on northern rivers could proceed. As a consequence, an office re-assessment of available data is being undertaken. These studies do not contemplate any diversion schemes."

(Ontario Hydro, brief submitted to the R.C.N.E., p. 22)

The Ministry of Energy stressed, for the record, that:

"In keeping with requests of Grand Council Treaty #9, as expressed to a meeting with the Ontario cabinet and in a submission to the Royal Commission on Electric Power Planning, the government has directed Ontario Hydro not to proceed with any plans to develop the Albany River's hydroelectric potential."

(Ministry of Energy, Toronto, p. 2234)

After clarifying its position with respect to the Albany River, Ontario Hydro outlined what other rivers it is currently examining north of 50:

"... the Attawapiskat and Winisk Rivers ... have not yet proven economic ... based on photo-geometric studies only, and some additional studies will be done in 1979. On the Severn River, preliminary photo-geometric work ... indicates that there are about 18 sites with a potential of 615 megawatts ... A more detailed examination of the Severn is planned for 1979. On the English River, the Ear Falls extension and a new plant at Maynard Falls have proven economic and will be recommended for implementation under the Environmental Assessment Act. On the Jackfish River, two of the little Jackfish River sites have proven

economic compared to the alternative of fossil-fired generation, and a third site on the lower river is being studied as a means of improving flow conditions in that lower part of the river. All remaining sites on the Moose, Mattagami and Abitibi drainage system are being actively investigated at this time to prove engineering and economic feasibility. That work ... will continue in 1978 and 1979."

(Ontario Hydro, Timmins, p. 1224)

Ontario Hydro also reported that:

"We are actively pursuing the development of small hydraulic generating units for use in suitable locations where hydraulic power is considered cheaper than diesel electric generation."

(Ontario Hydro, Timmins, p. 1225)

The Ministry of Energy stressed the work that is being done to develop small hydraulic sites:

"The potential across northern Ontario at small sites is considerable, particularly for meeting local needs. New technology is being developed in this area which is economical, and the Ontario Ministry of Energy, in cooperation with Natural Resources and Northern Affairs and Ontario Hydro, is looking to this as a means of getting power to small communities in the north which will be more in keeping, or not the large-scale development which would overwhelm communities alone."

(Ministry of Energy, Toronto, p. 2234)

Resentment expressed over Ontario Hydro's development of hydroelectric potential in the north seemed to grow partly out of a feeling among northerners that their energy resources are being exploited with the south as the primary beneficiary. Ontario Hydro replied that while this was true in the past, it is no longer the case:

"Many people in the north believe that most of the electricity from our northeast generation is transported to southern Ontario, and there are times of the year when we have got very high water flows, when we do transport some electricity to southern Ontario, but generally speaking, just the opposite is true, that northern Ontario requires assistance from the ... nuclear plants in the south to meet our electricity needs ... This has been true on an annual basis over the past four years, and we have been bringing in an ever-increasing amount of electrical energy from southern Ontario each year, and that of course is one of the reasons we are looking towards a new generating station up in our region."

(Ontario Hydro, Timmins, p. 1221)

The Ontario Mining Association supported Ontario Hydro's position that more energy must be produced in the north:

"The OMA is of the opinion that there is considerable undeveloped hydroelectric generating capacity in northern Ontario and urges that this potential be developed as necessary to help meet the need for electrical energy in the area . . . The association urges that environmental consideration be carefully and sensibly balanced against the pressing need for additional energy resources in this region of the province."

(Ontario Mining Association, Timmins, p. 1012)

People such as Dr. Pimlott, however, would argue that this is exactly what has occurred in the past, to the detriment of the environment and native people:

"Industrial societies have traditionally looked at only the development side of the equation. They have rationalized the degradation of the environment, the loss of animal resources and the destruction of native cultures . . . The forgotten side of the equation, it seems to me, is the environment and the social economic considerations of native people."

(Dr. Douglas Pimlott, Timmins, p. 914)

Many native people speaking to the Commission agreed with this view. Their concern was based on their past experiences. As the Mattagami Band told the Commission:

"When the people first moved to the reserve, it was located on one side of the Mattagami River . . . The only development taking place was the construction of two dams on the Mattagami River. The people did not understand English and therefore did not know the controlling of the water levels would affect their lands and trees. The land became flooded and, just like Lac Seul, the burial grounds were covered. Ontario Hydro eventually paid a little compensation for the damages, but in no way did it reflect the value of the land to the people. Their land, trees and their burial grounds were sacrificed so that the mines of Timmins might have power. We ourselves did not receive electricity for another 50 years."

(Mattagami Band, Timmins, p. 1107)

The Commission learned, as well, of the experience of the Islington Band. In 1954, Ontario Hydro completed construction of a hydro dam at Whitedog Falls on the Winnipeg River. The Commission was told that the log homes of 15 families were inundated and those families were required to relocate on the Whitedog Reserve in housing which was described as "cold and inadequate when compared with their solid log homes." (p. 2760). But different housing was not the only effect:

"The concentration of families in the one new location, the disorientation and disruption, together with the loss of trapping areas and wild rice areas began the process of disruption and social breakdown."

(Islington Band, Whitedog, p. 2760)

Further, they received:

" . . . no compensation for flooded acreage, either in terms of dollars or alternate land . . . no compensation for the literally millions of dollars of wild rice that has been destroyed by Hydro releases or Lake of the Woods Control Board policies."

(Islington Band, Whitedog, p. 2760)

Representatives of the band also said that the reserve did not receive any electricity until 1968, some 11 years after completion of construction.

Other effects of the Whitedog Falls dam were also mentioned:

"A hydro dam was constructed downriver causing severe water level fluctuations. Before the hydro dam was constructed it was easy for trappers to get 500 muskrats. After it was built the muskrat population diminished severely because after the ice formed the water level went down causing the muskrats to freeze to death and when the waters were too high the muskrat houses would flood and the muskrats would also freeze to death in that way."

(Chief Simon Fobister, Whitedog, p. 2790)

The Commission was told about a dam built on the English River:

"It flooded many things — timber, wild rice fields, Indian reserves and small animal habitat. Where trappers used to get many muskrat they are now hard to find, they are scattered all over the lake. Fishing was ruined because of sticks and other floating articles."

(Baptist Bigblood, Whitedog, p. 2799)

And about some effects of the Ogoki diversion:

"Years ago a diversion was made at Martin Falls to cause part of the water in the Ogoki River to flow south into the Jackfish . . . to maintain the level of Lake Nipigon . . . There used to be commercial fishing at Furland, Mud River and Gull Bay, but there has been none since the construction of the control dam causing silt deposits at an accelerated rate . . . that small volume of water from the Jackfish-cum-part Ogoki has ended the spawning."

(Canon John Long, Nakina, p. 1527)

Most shocking to the native people was what they viewed as disregard shown for their burial grounds. The Chief of Lac Seul spoke to the Commission about this:

"Over 40 years ago, Ontario Hydro flooded my people's land to produce hydroelectric power. We were never told of the full extent of the flooding. We were never given full compensation for the flooding. And were never given the resources to move our ancestor's graves and save them from a watery destruction. White graves would not have been treated in a similar manner."

(Lac Seul Reserve, Sioux Lookout, p. 45)

Native people feared that future hydro developments would repeat the mistakes of the past, and their concern for their ancestors' graves was a prominent one:

"The damming of the Albany River is seen to create extensive flood conditions covering prime trapping ground, prime fishing grounds and above all, prime wild rice paddies we have developed. Furthermore, to flood this land eastward of the Osnaburgh Reserve is to also desecrate numerous graveyards of our ancestors who are buried in that area. We have seen this already in the past."

(Osnaburgh Band, Osnaburgh, p. 1809)

The land is their link with the past and the native people fear its destruction:

"If the land is flooded it will destroy the past of the Indian people. The future will be bad for our children if it happens. We are also very concerned about the graves of our ancestors that will be destroyed if the

land is flooded. These graves are very important for the Anishnawbe people and it would hurt our people if this link with the past was destroyed."

(Chief Eli Moonias, Geraldton, p. 1372)

The land is also their home and they do not want to move again:

"We know for a fact that if this development (involving the Severn, Attiwapiskat, Albany and Winisk Rivers) is allowed to go through we will face immense suffering and we will face flooding. All those communities situated on low ground will be flooded."

(James Masakeyash, Osnaburgh, p. 1790)

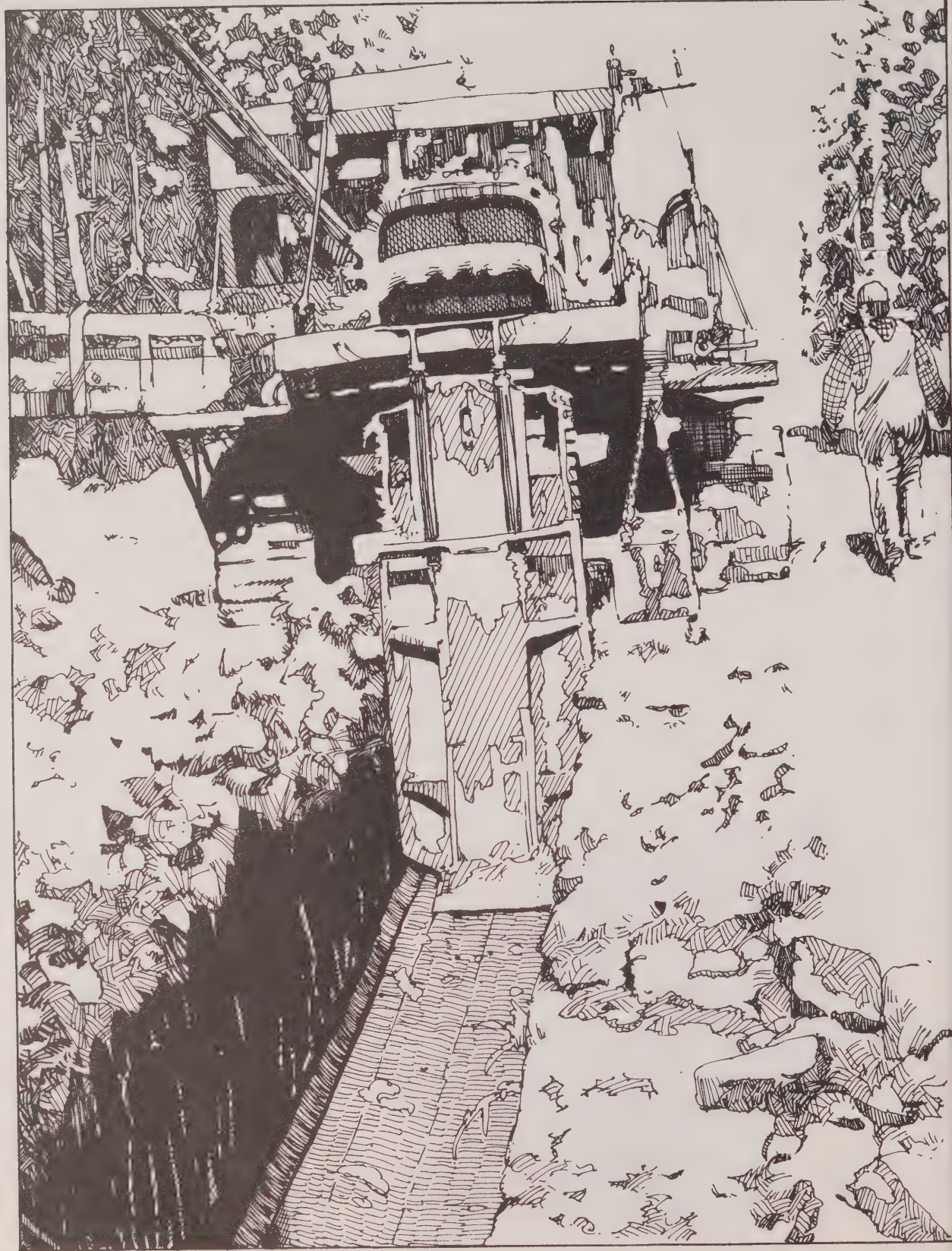
Treaty #9 told the Commission that there have been no improvements in consultation since the earlier dams were built and that this situation must change:

"Now, as in the past, there is no consultation prior to the building of any dams. We heard about the dams, when the bulldozers started moving, and when the flooding began. This is not acceptable. We want full disclosure of all plans concerning our northern rivers, and full consultation."

(Treaty #9, Sioux Lookout, p. 123)

This request was repeated by other northerners over nearly every issue affecting or affected by the development of northern resources — northerners must be involved, must be consulted, must be provided with full information about proposed developments.





Pipeline Prospect Raises Hopes and Anxieties

The prospect of transporting natural gas from the eastern Arctic, south by pipeline through northern Ontario, elicited a wide range of reactions at Royal Commission hearings. Many northerners welcomed the proposed pipeline as a source of jobs and, possibly, cheaper energy prices. Others argued that the north will not experience reduced costs of energy, since much of the transported natural gas will find its way to United States markets. Native people were concerned about the environmental disturbances that construction and operation of a pipeline would cause. They feared that any environmental assessment of the project would ignore their interest. Several submissions, both native and non-native, asked that the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment contribute in some manner to the assessment of the Polar Gas pipeline, despite the fact that pipelines crossing provincial boundaries are under federal jurisdiction.

Are Polar Gas Reserves Needed?

Should a provincial commission of inquiry in the spirit of its mandate examine the environmental implications of a proposed pipeline, a federal matter?

This question was posed to Ontario's Royal Commission on the Northern Environment, and an affirmative response urged on it by a number of people. Under its mandate the Commission may concern itself with the effects on the environment of major undertakings north of 50, such effects defined to include social, economic and cultural concerns.

The Commission was told of an application before the National Energy Board from the Polar Gas Project — a group of companies proposing to build a natural gas pipeline from Melville Island in the eastern Arctic through northern Manitoba and northern Ontario to just east of Longlac, connecting with an existing pipeline. The Ontario portion would extend a distance of 453 miles.

The transporting of natural gas from Canada's Arctic south by pipeline became a highly regarded possibility in the early 1970's, when a proposal by an Arctic gas consortium to build a pipeline through the Northwest Territories south to Alberta, seemed an answer to the emergence of the energy crisis in North America. The Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, headed by Mr. Justice Thomas Berger, looked carefully at this and other proposals for a northern pipeline and the potential socio-economic and environmental effects on the land.

The inquiry recommended that no pipeline be built along any route that would disrupt the delicate environment of the far north, and further recommended an environmental assessment, and settlement of native land claims before another route is chosen.

In the light of the Berger Inquiry and the subsequent decision by the United States and Canadian governments to cooperate in bringing gas south from Prudhoe Bay, Alaska through the proposed western Alaska Highway pipeline, some northern Ontarians appearing before the Commission questioned the need for consideration of the proposed Polar Gas Project.

They spoke of the potential of the Alaska Highway pipeline in the west, the promise of energy conservation policies in the United States and Canada and the enormity of the proven reserves of the Alberta tarsands. In addition, tankers bringing liquified natural gas to Maritime ports could, in their view, preclude the need for a pipeline through northern Manitoba and northern Ontario.

A representative of the Polar Gas Project told the Commission that he and his colleagues are proceeding with their proposal on the assumption that theirs is the best way to bring gas to southern and eastern consumers. Polar Gas officials also reported that they have filed an application with the National Energy Board and that they are to submit their project to the federal Environmental Assessment and Review Process. A construction start was hypothesized for the late 1980's or early 1990's.

From the Arctic, Southeast through Ontario

The Polar Gas Project is designed to bring natural gas from the eastern Arctic, south by pipeline, to be fed into the existing TransCanada Pipeline system near Longlac, Ontario. Feasibility studies and work were begun in 1972. The six participant groups are TransCanada Pipelines Limited (project manager), Panarctic Oils Limited, the Ontario Energy Corporation (a provincial government agency), Petro-Canada (a federal crown corporation), Tenneco Oil of Canada Limited, and Pacific Lighting Gas Development Limited. By the end of 1977, some \$60 million had been spent in advancing the case for this project.

Before it can be built, the Polar Gas pipeline must be assessed and approved by the National Energy Board. The Board assessment will likely include public hearings, as will the federal Environmental Assessment and Review Process to which the project proposal will also be submitted. The project will also be reviewed by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development in connection with the required application to use and occupy land in the Northwest Territories under the Territorial Lands Act. The Polar Gas Project, if it proceeds, will be subject to extensive assessment at the federal level because of the federal jurisdiction over pipelines crossing provincial boundaries.

A number of people addressing the Commission felt that the federal assessment process might be inadequate and that there should be a mechanism for reviewing the project at the local level so that the needs and concerns of the people of northern Ontario could be raised and considered. The York University Polar Gas Case Study Group detailed what it saw as inadequacies in the federal assessment processes for Polar Gas and urged the commission to assume an active role:

"The fact that the Commission is directed to consider the impacts of major developments in northern Ontario indicates that Polar Gas will be examined in concert with other developments which contribute to cumulative impacts on the land and people. The Commission is in the unique position of being able to view separate development projects in concert with and not in isolation from development issues. It is imperative that the Commission subject the Polar Gas Project to a thorough evaluation as existing regulatory structures are seen to be inadequate."

(York University Polar Gas Case Study Group, Geraldton, p. 1296)

According to the York Study Group, the National Energy Board's assessment will prove inadequate, since it does not allow for a review of options or alternatives to a pipeline, nor would it review the pipeline within the total context of all proposed developments for the area. The group recognized that the provincial government has no jurisdiction in the matter but felt, nevertheless, that the Commission might be the only vehicle presently constituted for effectively influencing the assessment process:

"The mandate of the Royal Commission specifically

directs the inquiry to study alternative ways of implementing projects and consider alternative approaches to meet the socio-economic and cultural needs of northern communities. Hence, the entire Polar Gas Project could be examined after alternative approaches have been considered, and from the alternative processes perspective which emerges. In this manner the project would be assessed on the basis of long-term socio-cultural goals of the region."

(York University Polar Gas Case Study Group, Geraldton, p. 1305)

The Commission was told that:

"Some 11 native communities in northern Ontario will be affected by the development. Native people and Treaty #9 have demonstrated a concern about the project and indicated that it is their desire that the Commission include the Polar Gas pipeline within the scope of its examination."

(York University Polar Gas Case Study Group, Geraldton, p. 1295)

Treaty #9 representatives stated their view that the Commission should investigate the Polar Gas Project:

"There has never been an effective and comprehensive democratic vehicle for assessing diverse and large-scale land developments. We, therefore, urge the Commission, in its role as a conscientious body of inquiry, to undertake a broad and detailed examination of all aspects of several different types of development projects, such as Onakawana, and other energy exploitation schemes: Polar gas, the Reed Paper type of projects, Prospections Mining Limited, in fact, all other forms of existing and potential resource exploitation."

(Treaty 9, Moose Factory, p. 3354)

Polar Gas representatives, on the other hand, made it clear that they felt the Commission did not have a role to play in the assessment process. After detailing the assessment process with which this consortium is currently faced, a spokesman for the project stated:

"In order to obtain the necessary federal government approvals to construct a natural gas pipeline there will be two public reviews of the environmental and socio-economic matters by agencies of the federal government. We understand that it is neither the mandate nor the intent of the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment to assess the effects on the physical or social environment of specific projects north of the 50th parallel in Ontario. Therefore, it is not the intent of the Polar Gas Project to appear as an advocate for the project in public hearings to be conducted by the Royal Commission, nor to file a brief or submission for such a purpose with the Commission."

(Polar Gas Project, Geraldton, p. 1261)

The role of various provincial ministries in the assessment of Polar Gas was also raised at the hearings. The Ministry of the Environment explained that since pipelines crossing provincial boundaries are under federal jurisdiction, the role of that ministry would be to co-ordinate the provincial input to the federal Environmental Assessment and Review Process. The Ontario Ministry of the Environment explained how that provincial input would be made:

"We will participate in the early stages when the guidelines are being developed for the proponent, as in the case of Polar Gas, and at the stage when the documentation is fully down on paper and the submissions are being made to us, and to the appropriate federal agencies. We will co-ordinate the government of Ontario's review of that document and participate as interveners at the time that the matter goes to hearing."

(Ministry of the Environment, Red Lake, p. 578)

The ministry's position was supported by some observers:

"In Ontario, the Ministry of the Environment has wisely chosen not to participate on the Environment Assessment Panel responsible for reviewing Polar Gas. Instead, the ministry will co-ordinate and represent provincial interests before the panel."

(York University Polar Gas Case Study Group, Geraldton, p. 1302)

The Ministry of Treasury, Economics and Intergovernmental Affairs (TEIGA) suggested a possible role for the Commission in the Polar Gas assessment framework:

"As Arctic gas may well prove critical to future energy supplies in Ontario, and as you are well aware pipeline routes to bring gas to the south have been proposed that would pass through the north of 50 area, such a pipeline could involve major issues in connection with native claims and benefits. We hope that the Commission might provide important inputs into the process of resolving these issues, so that there are clear guidelines for whatever major developments of this sort do develop in the future."

(TEIGA, Timmins, p. 861)

The question of the provincial government's involvement in the Polar Gas Project was raised. The Ontario Energy Corporation, an agency of the Ministry of Energy, is one of the participants in the project. A representative of the Ministry of Energy sought to explain its policy:

"The intention has been to keep the Polar Gas Project alive in its present position while we look at the feasibility. No commitment has been made by government to proceed with these projects beyond the application

stage, the application for approval. In other words, there is no consideration being given to investment in the construction of a pipeline."

(Ministry of Energy, Toronto, p. 2235)

The Ministry of Energy also stressed the need for eastern Arctic gas. It foresaw shortages of natural gas by the mid 1980's unless such frontier supplies are brought on stream:

"It should be emphasized that the ministry regards the Polar Gas Project as a potential means of providing future energy supplies for Ontario as our current sources of supply of natural gas and crude oil begin to run out, and as a help to fill the gap until renewable energy sources can play a major role."

(Ministry of Energy, Toronto, p. 2235)

Other people considered the primary motivation for the Polar Gas Project was the supplying of energy to United States markets:

"It has been suggested that if the Polar Gas pipeline is approved in the near future, the economics of pipeline construction and financing will result in the export of major gas 'surpluses' to the United States."

(York University Polar Gas Case Study Group, Geraldton, p. 1297)

People from Pickle Lake, which could become the administrative centre for the Ontario portion of the Polar Gas pipeline, did not agree. In fact, they felt that one of the attractions of the pipeline proposal was:

"... cheaper energy for the northwest. We will be the first area to receive benefit of this gas."

(Improvement District of Pickle Lake, Pickle Lake, p. 1677)

Once again, the major attraction of the pipeline proposal, is the jobs that it would create. The Polar Gas Project outlined the employment opportunities that the pipeline would generate:

"Initially, the Polar Gas pipeline in northern Ontario will require approximately 75 permanent employees. This number will increase to 130 when the additional compressor stations are added... Manpower requirements vary over the five years of construction from several hundred to a peak of over 1,500 in the fifth year. On the average, some 1,000 people will be engaged each year in pipelaying and associated activities in Ontario."

(Polar Gas Project, Geraldton, p. 1255)

Not everyone felt that jobs justified the project. It was unclear how many permanent jobs would go to unskilled northerners, especially to native people. The Ontario

Native Women's Association expressed fear that the social costs were being overlooked:

"We feel that there is a complete lack of knowledge about the Polar Gas pipeline by the majority of the affected native population, and that the Polar Gas pipeline will be or could be offered as an incentive for a greater economic position without regard to the oncoming social costs. In fact, it is our belief that the only jobs that would be created by this pipeline are for the unskilled labourer, jobs like clearing the land, a job that would last only a very short time, and then the native would be replaced by highly skilled personnel, leaving our people again to fade into the background. They will be forced to live with the aftermath of their disrupted environment. Campsites of 500 to 1,500 or more men, single and married, would not help our native population. The environment will suffer from the heavy equipment and our social and cultural identity will be lost with the results of the campsites."

(Ontario Native Women's Association, Geraldton, p. 1327)

Canon Long agreed that the jobs would not likely offset the social costs which a pipeline would create:

"The Arctic gas pipeline could give many at least temporary employment, but not permanent jobs. When the Otter Rapids project was undertaken, the late Bishop Neville Clark met with the Hydro officials in Toronto who agreed to hire up to 50% of the unskilled work force from native settlements . . . Perhaps such a 50-50 unskilled labour force arrangement could be invoked. There is that hope for the men, good pay and good working conditions; but there is no such hope for the girls who remain vulnerable, and there are many white people who are ever ready to take advantage of them."

(Canon John Long, Nakina, p. 1532)

Fears of environmental harm combined with the knowledge of what development has done to the native social fabric, led many native people to be wary about Polar Gas:

"This pipeline which is to run near the Osnaburgh Reserve can also create more extensive negative disadvantages if it is allowed to go ahead now. Again, caribou, moose, fur-bearing animals, graveyards, wild rice paddies and indeed our economic proposals are threatened. This is not to mention our already fragile native culture and social life."

(Osnaburgh Band, Osnaburgh, p. 1810)

The proposed pipeline route would also pass close to Wunnumin Lake Reserve. The chief of Wunnumin Lake showed the Commission a land use map indicating where the people hunt, fish and trap:

"If you look at this black line, Mr. Commissioner, this

is where the Polar Gas pipeline is proposed to go through. You can see that it will disrupt the traplines and fishing areas which our people have inherited from generation to generation."

(Wunnumin Lake Band, Osnaburgh, p. 1889)

A Treaty #9 elder spoke to the Commission of his concerns about the proposed pipeline:

"Today we also know about a proposal to construct the pipeline through our grounds, a pipeline which will carry natural gas, a proposal for which we must seek a definite alternative, because as native people we know that if this development is allowed to go ahead at this time it will have serious ramifications on all aspects of present native life and their present methods of harvesting this land. We know sooner or later that this development, if allowed to go through, will create monstrous environmental effects."

(James Masaakeyash, Osnaburgh, p. 1790)

Concern was shared by the Bearskin Lake Band:

"We do not want outside people coming and telling us that they are putting a pipeline 20 miles upstream from our settlement and proceeding to clear away our trees for this pipeline. We do not want huge corporations coming in and telling us to move off our land for money's sake. No, Mr. Hartt, we want to be treated as equals, to be treated as a people. Mr. Hartt, it looks to us, as if we were not even alive; the introduction of these huge projects threatens the very existence of the native people."

(Bearskin Lake Band, Osnaburgh, p. 1857)

The people of Sandy Lake expressed the same frustration:

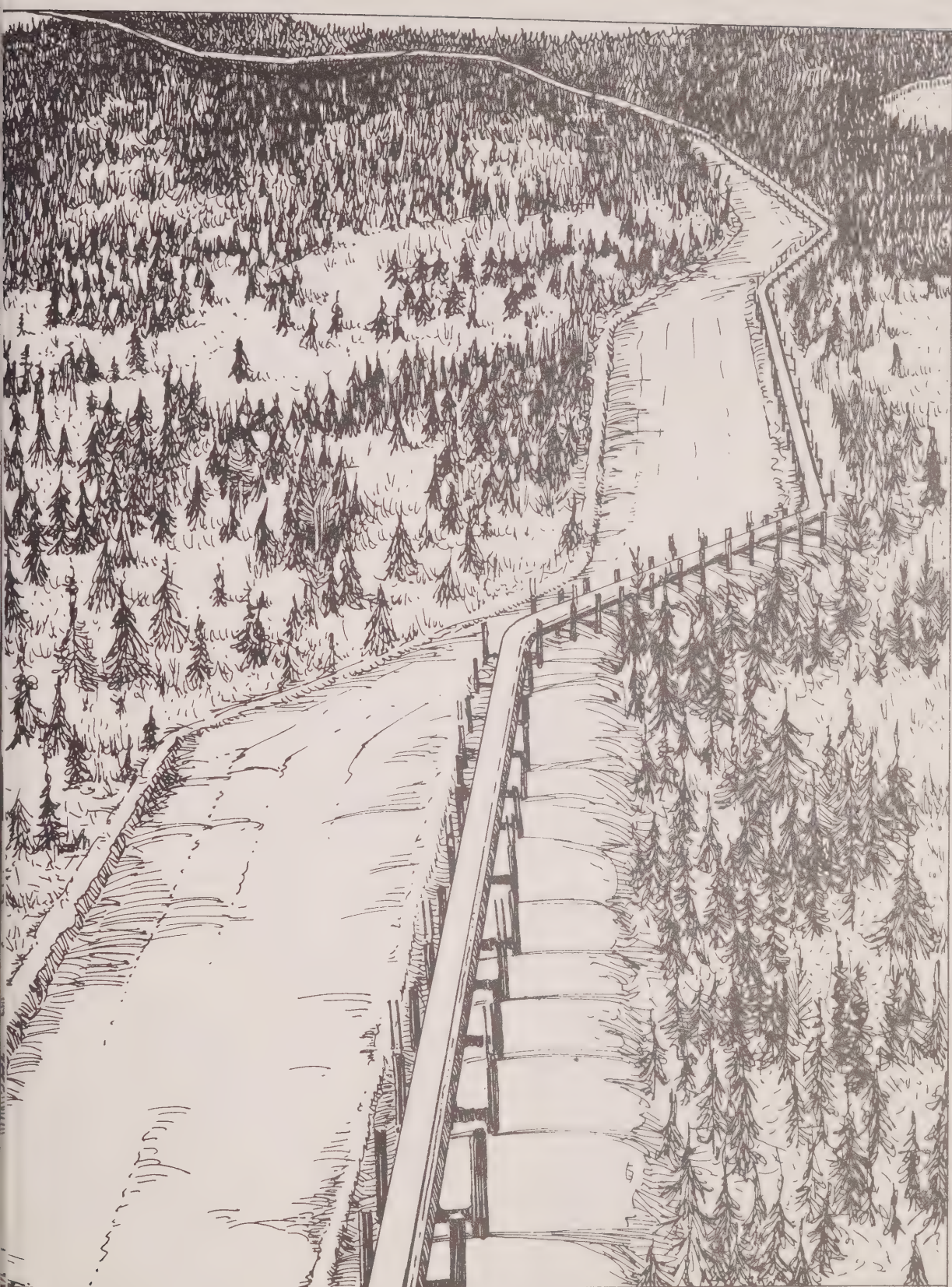
"But in the meantime, and as an intermediate step, we want to be consulted. It is not right that Reed should destroy us and not tell us until they are finished. It is not right that Polar Gas should sneak down behind our backs while we are still looking northwest at the Berger report."

(Sandy Lake Band, Sandy Lake, p. 2422)

Judging by their experience and the lack of meaningful consultation during development in the past, the native people expressed concern about the type of assessment which Polar Gas would undergo. They felt they should be involved in that assessment, and urged the Commission to serve them as a vehicle for advocating that involvement. Other people affirmed the relevance of such involvement:

"The effect of pipelines such as the proposed Polar Gas line should be examined in light of its impact on the existing native economy and lifestyle."

(Committee in Support of Native Concerns, Toronto, p. 2242)





MAPS GRAPHS CHARTS ONTARIO NORTH OF 50°



A BACKGROUND REFERENCE
prepared by

THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE NORTHERN ENVIRONMENT

INDEX

	Page		Page
Communities Map	M2	Mining Potential Map	M10
Population Chart	M4	Forestry Map	M12
Drainage System Map	M4	Indian Reserves Map	M14
Permafrost and Bog Map	M5	Parks and Reserves Map	M16
Primary Species — Birds	M5	Transportation Map	M18
Primary Species — Animals	M6	Radio and Television Map	M20
Surficial Geology Map	M6	Population Growth Rates Graph	M22
Geology Map	M7	Age and Sex Distribution Graph	M22
Producing Mines Chart	M7	Labour Level by Schooling Graph	M23
Climate Maps and Graphs	M8	Total Population/Average Income Graph ..	M23
Vegetation Map	M9	Language Spoken at Home Graph	M24
Timber Harvesting Chart	M9	Indoor Plumbing Facilities Graph	M24



COMMUNITIES

1976 information

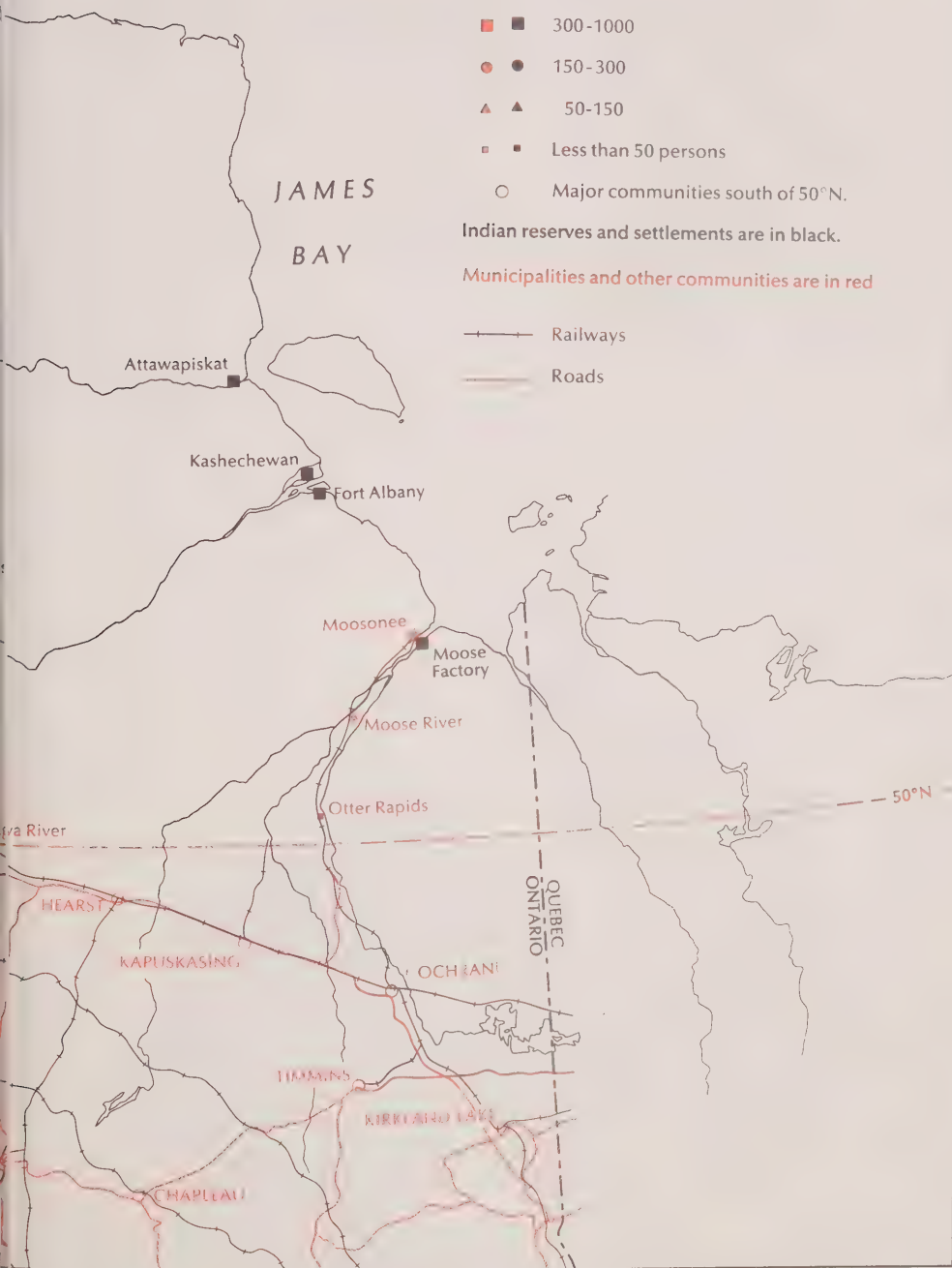
- ★ ★ More than 1000 persons
- ■ 300-1000
- ● 150-300
- ▲ ▲ 50-150
- ■ Less than 50 persons
- Major communities south of 50°N.

Indian reserves and settlements are in black.

Municipalities and other communities are in red.

—+— Railways

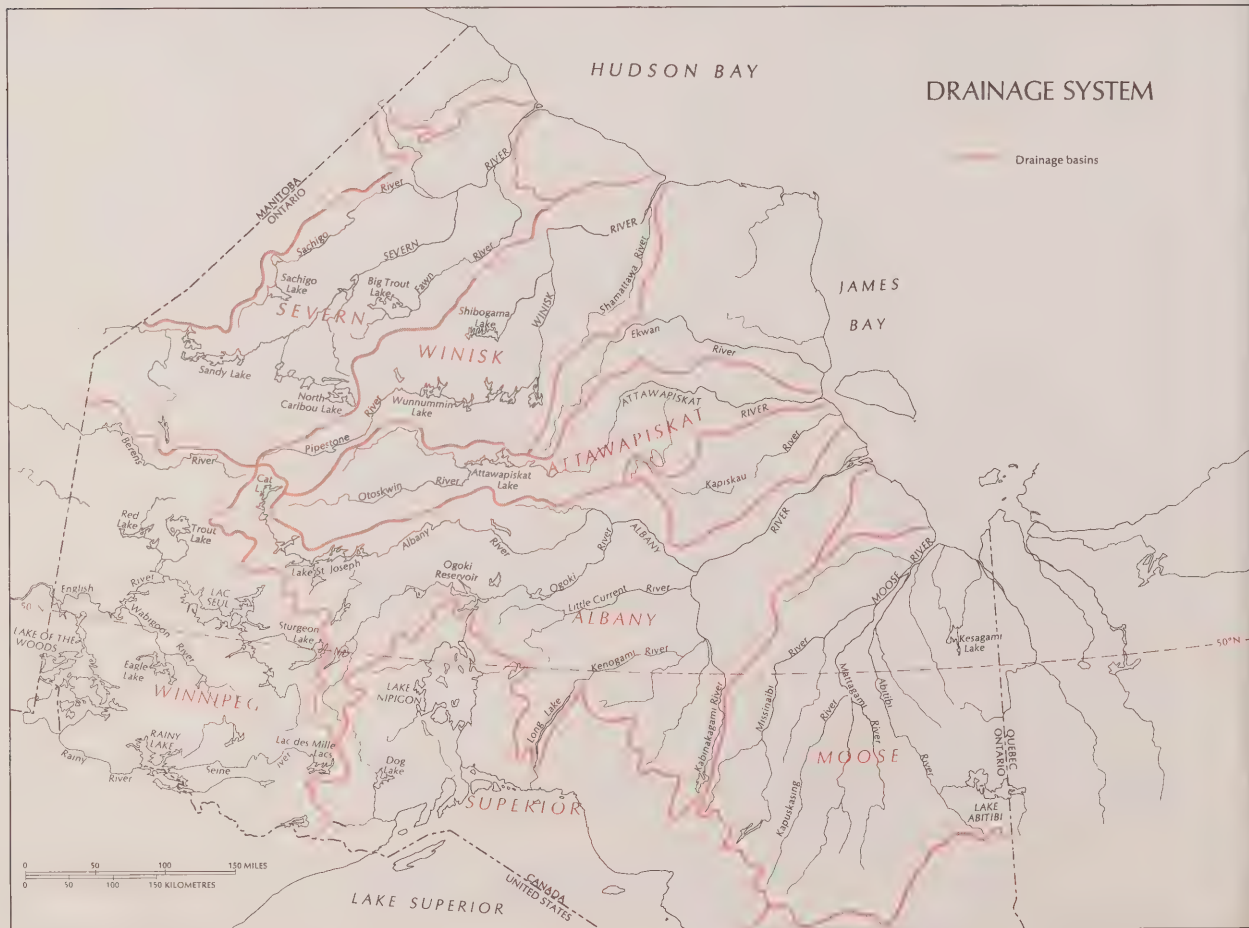
— Roads

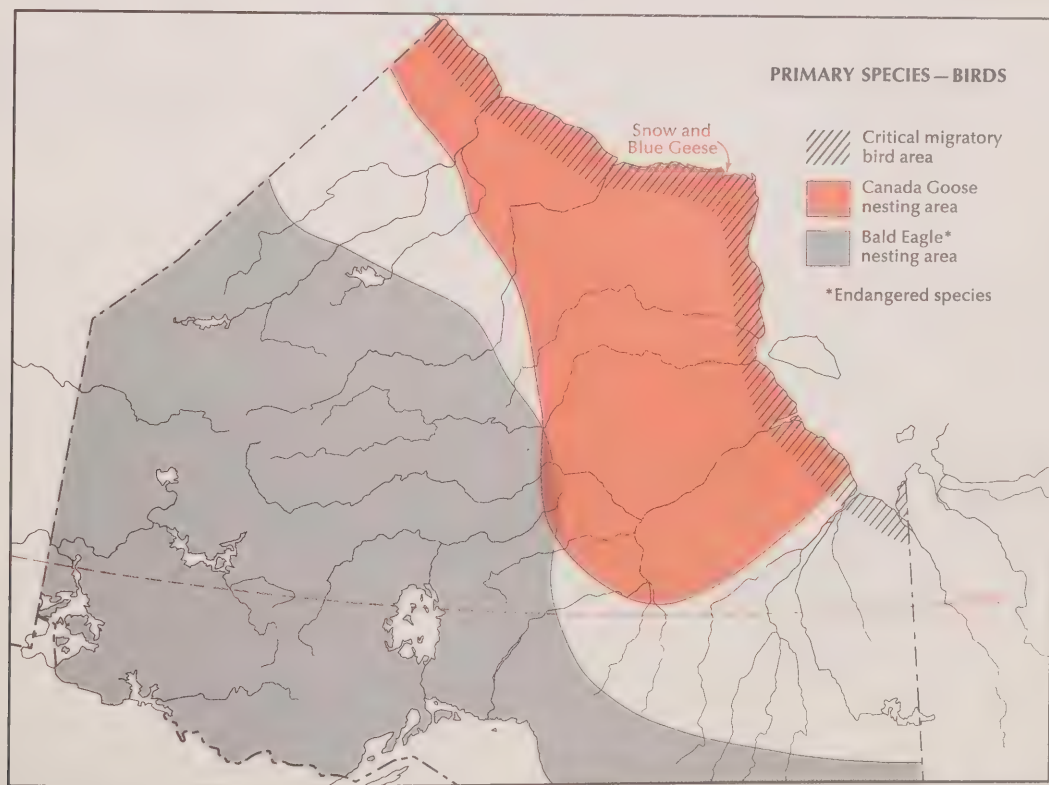
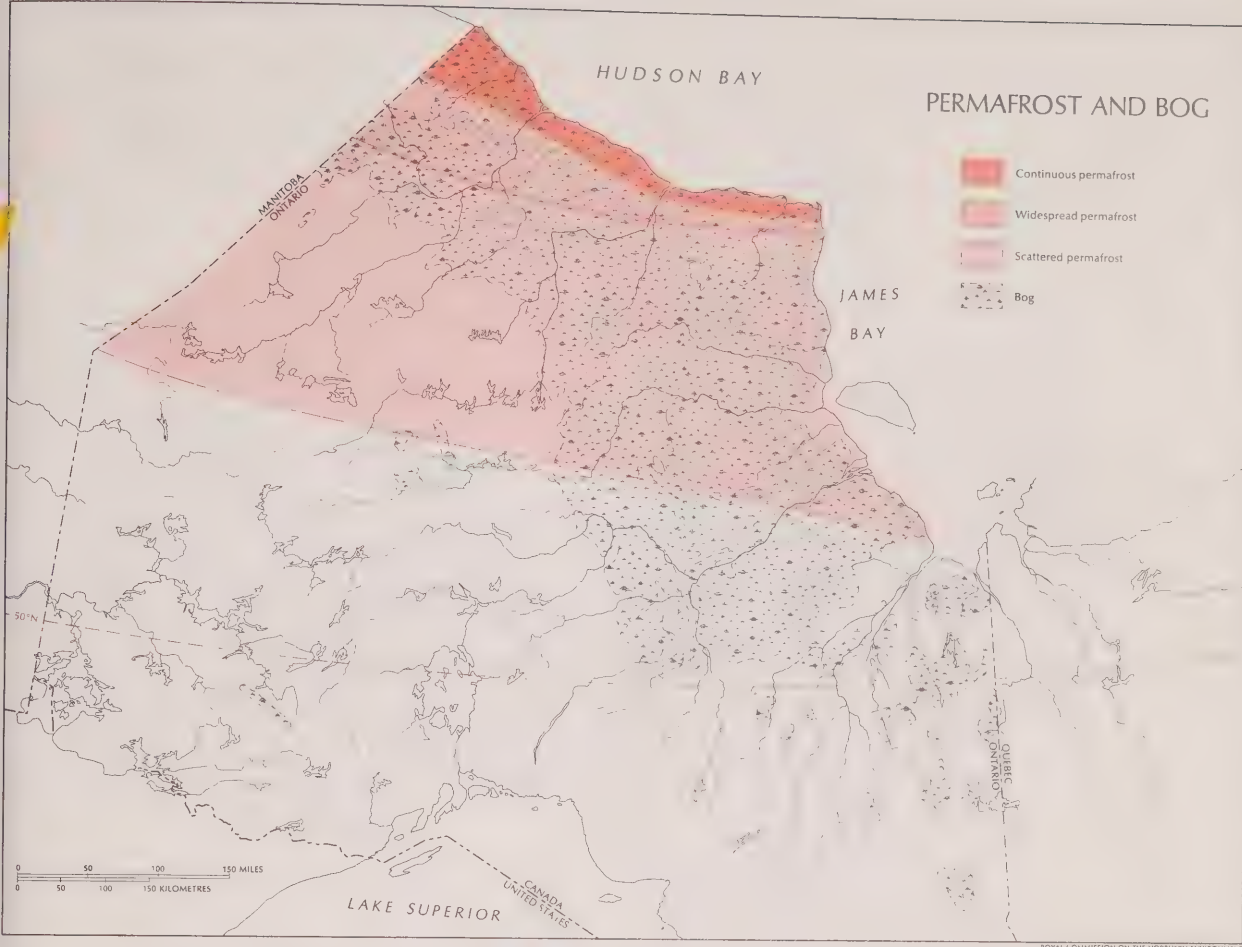


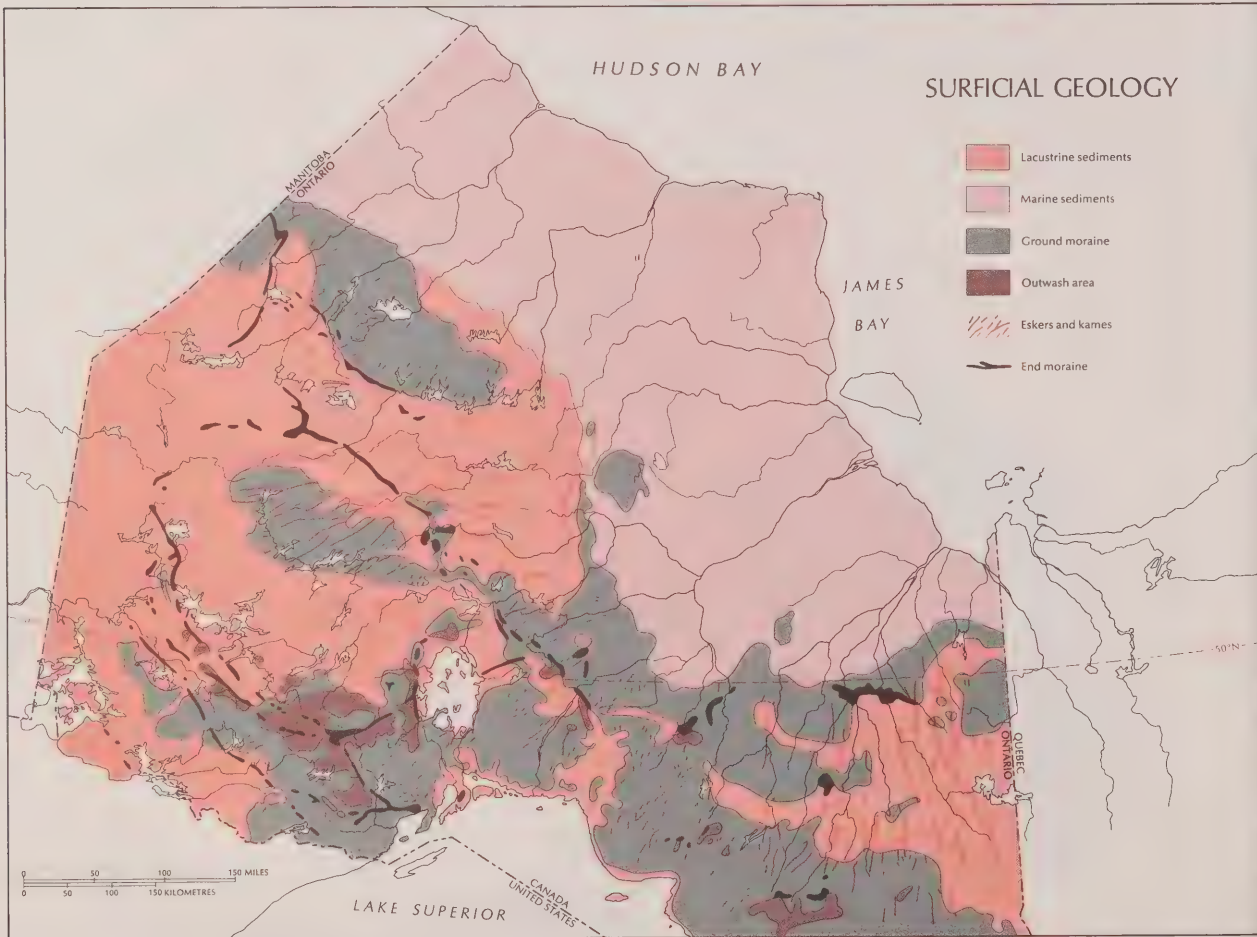
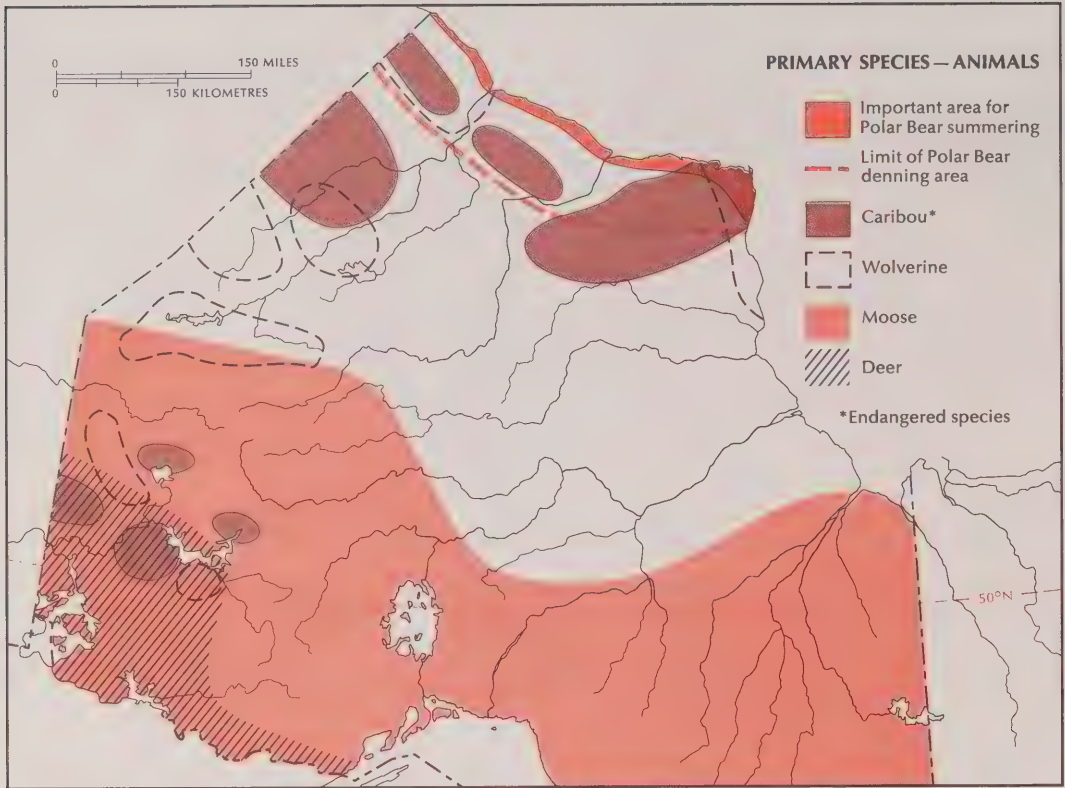
POPULATION, AREA OF MUNICIPALITY, NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS, AND AVERAGE POPULATION PER HOUSEHOLD FOR MUNICIPALITIES NORTH OF 50° AND FOR METRO TORONTO, 1976.

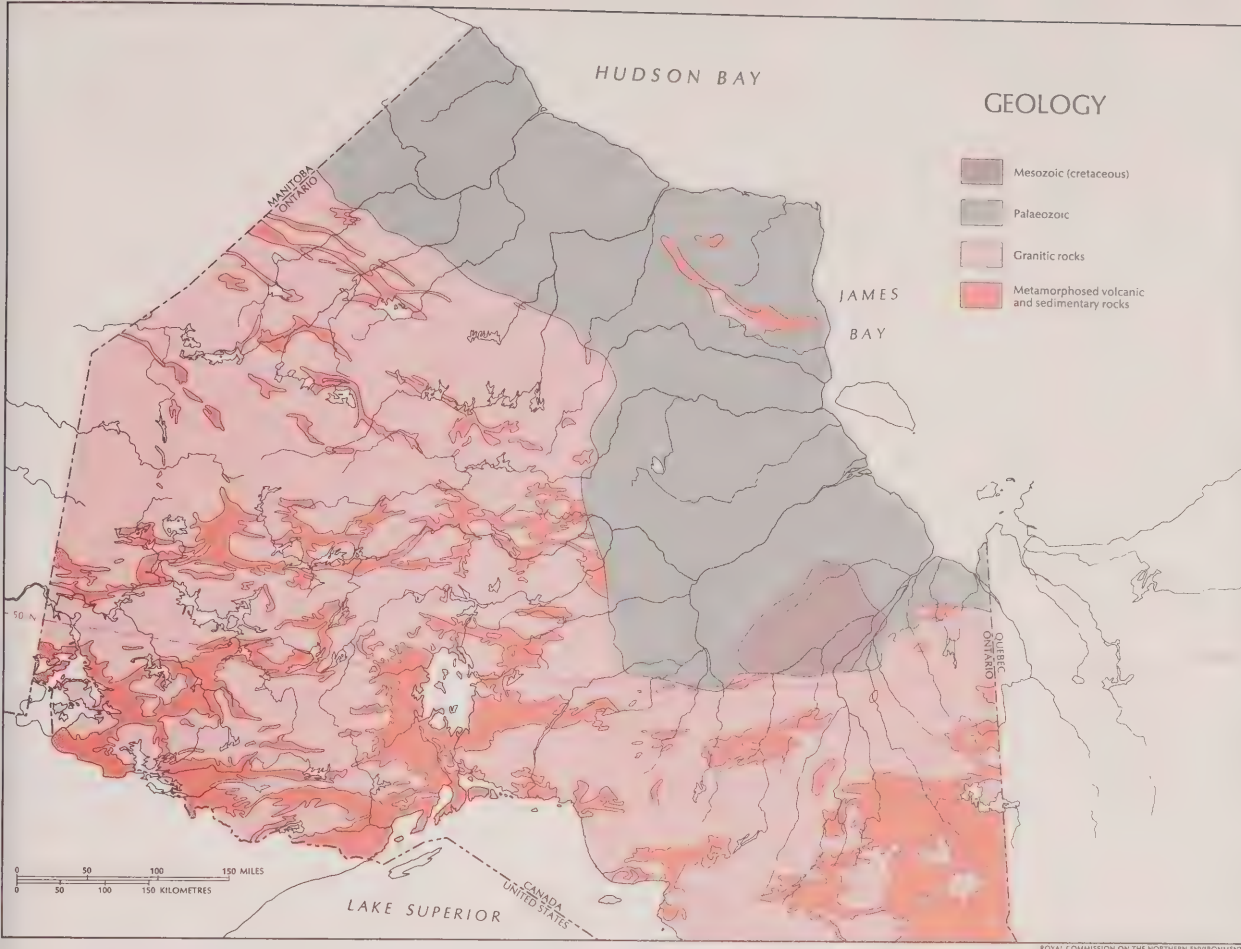
Municipality	Population	Area of Municipality (Acres)	No. of Households	Average Population/ Household
<u>District of Cochrane</u>				
Moosonee Development Area Board	1,231	141,120	382	3.22
<u>District of Kenora</u>				
Town of Sioux Lookout	3,106	2,400	1,046	2.96
Township of Ear Falls	1,963	87,571	602	3.26
Township of Red Lake	2,290	28,269	789	2.90
Improvement District of Balmertown	2,047	53,254	644	3.17
Improvement District of Pickle Lake	713	72,781	248	2.87
<u>District of Thunder Bay</u>				
Improvement District of Nakina	680	46,035	248	2.74
METRO TORONTO	2,154,279	155,699	769,935	2.79

Source: Municipal Directory 1977-78,
Ministry of Treasury, Economics and Intergovernmental Affairs, June, 1977.









ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE NORTHERN ENVIRONMENT

PRODUCING MINES NORTH OF 50° - 1976

COMPANY	LOCATION	YEAR BEGAN PRODUCTION	PRODUCT	CAPACITY PER DAY	OUTPUT	EMPLOYMENT	DESTINATION OF OUTPUT
Campbell Red Lake Mines Ltd.	Balmertown	1949	Gold/Silver	825 tons of ore	184,610 ounces of gold very low content of silver	342	Royal Canadian Mint—Ottawa
Dickenson Mines Ltd.	Balmertown	1948	Gold/Silver	480 tons of ore	30,696 oz. of gold 3,284 oz. of silver	243	Royal Canadian Mint—Ottawa
Robin Red Lake Mines Ltd. (1)	Balmertown	1970	Gold/Silver	(2)	24,519 oz. of gold 1,427 oz. of silver	(3)	Royal Canadian Mint—Ottawa
Steel Company of Canada Ltd. (Griffith Mine)	Bruce Lake	1968	Iron Ore	4,200 tons of pellets	1,522,527 tons of pelletized iron	606	Stelco, Hamilton
Selco Mining Corp. Ltd.	South Bay	1971	Copper/Zinc/Silver	500 tons of ore	2,478 tons of copper (4) 49 15,262 tons of zinc 318,913 oz. of silver		copper concentrate containing silver, shipped to Noranda Quebec for smelting by Noranda Mines Ltd. zinc concentrate shipped to Europe and U.S.
Union Minière Explorations & Mining Corp. Ltd. (UMEX)	Pickle Lake	Aug. 1976	Copper	4,000 tons of ore	9,578 tons of copper concentrate		copper concentrate shipped to Noranda Quebec for smelting by Noranda Mines Ltd.

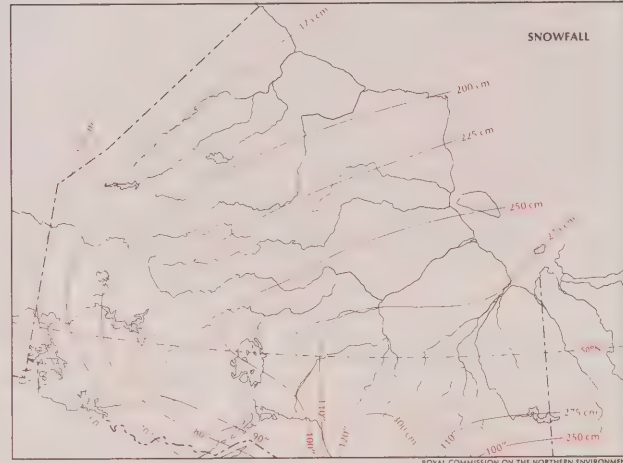
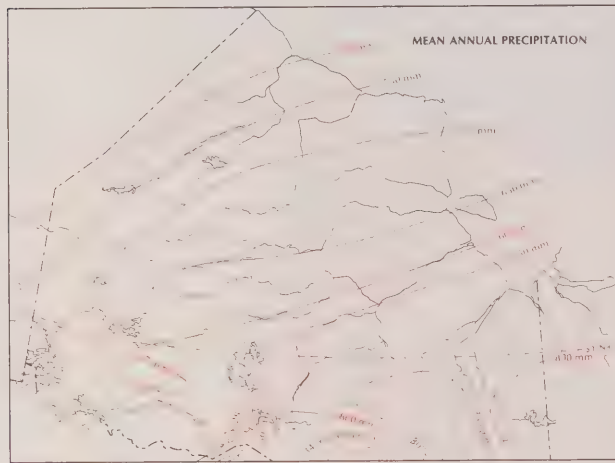
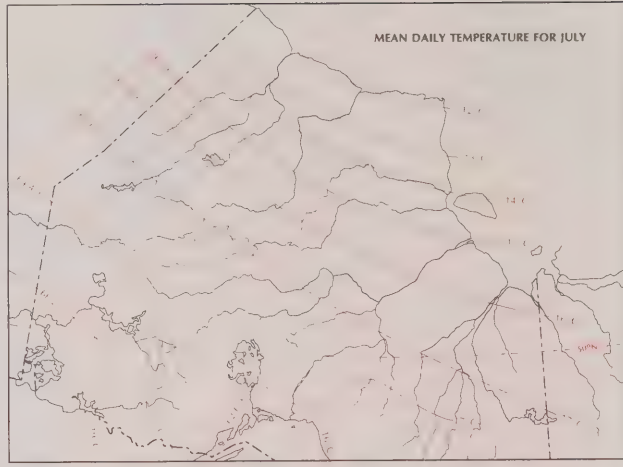
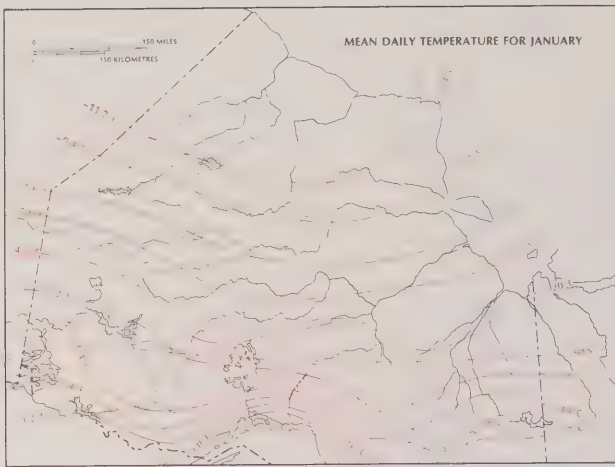
(1) owned (77.4%) by Dickenson Mines Ltd. property developed by underground extensions of Dickenson's operation

(2) ore milled by Dickenson

(3) included in Dickenson Mines' total

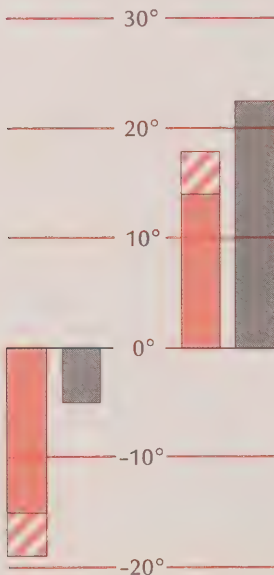
(4) output is for year ending March 31, 1976

CLIMATE

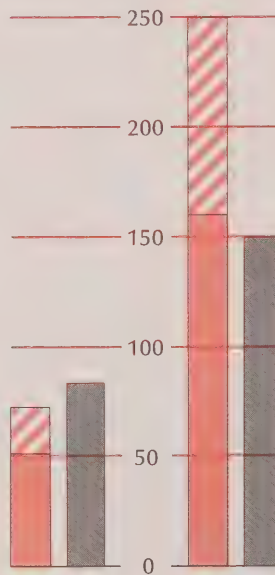


ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE NORTHERN ENVIRONMENT

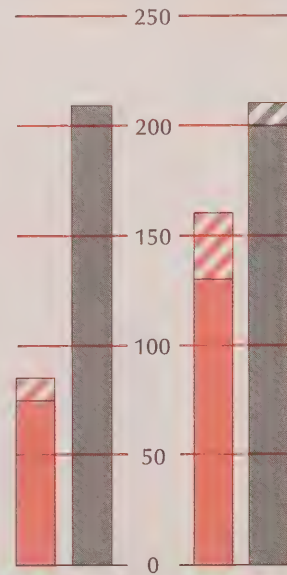
Mean daily temperature
January °C July



Precipitation
Rainfall cm Snowfall



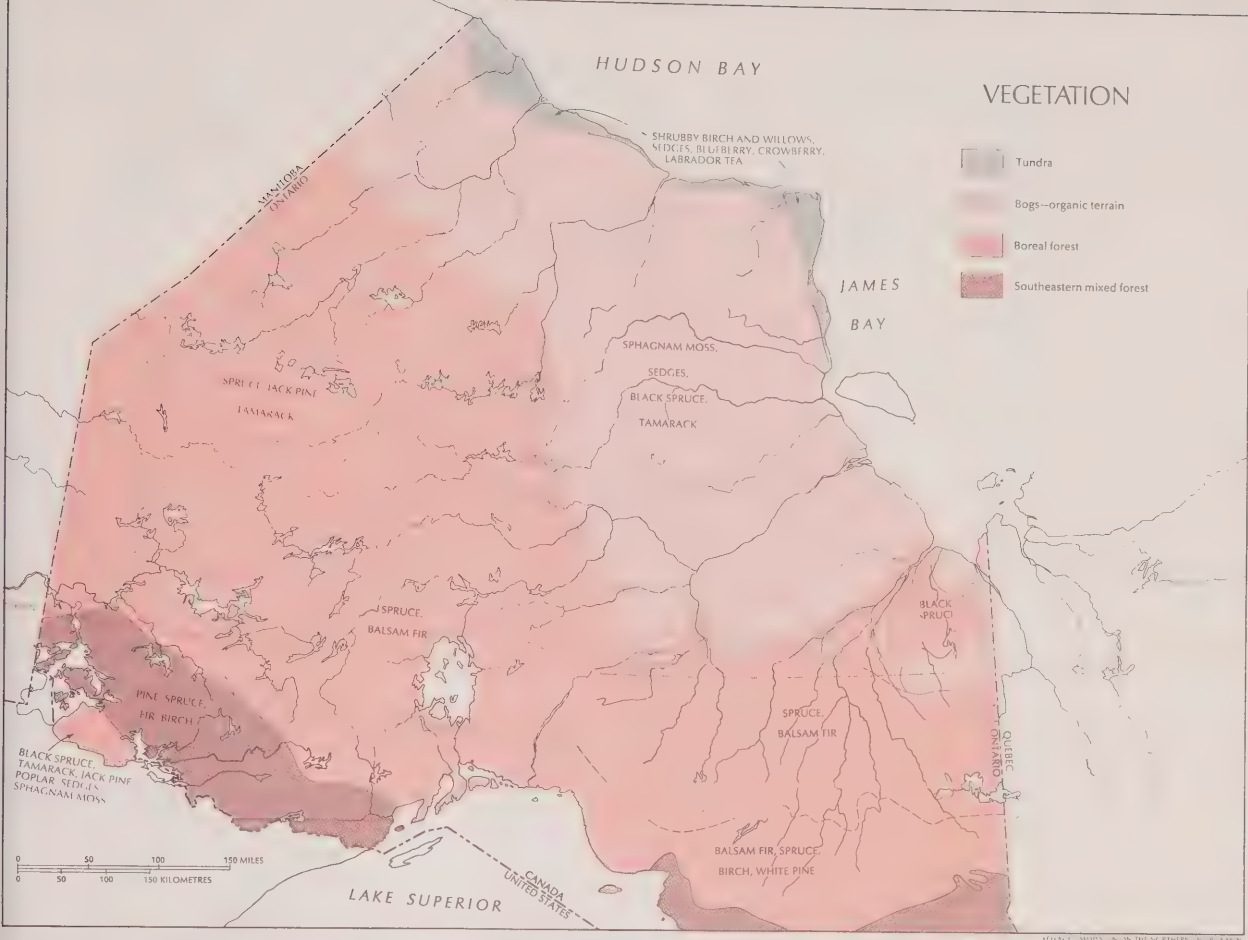
Frost free
days Days
Growing season



Ontario north of 50° latitude

Southern Ontario

Range

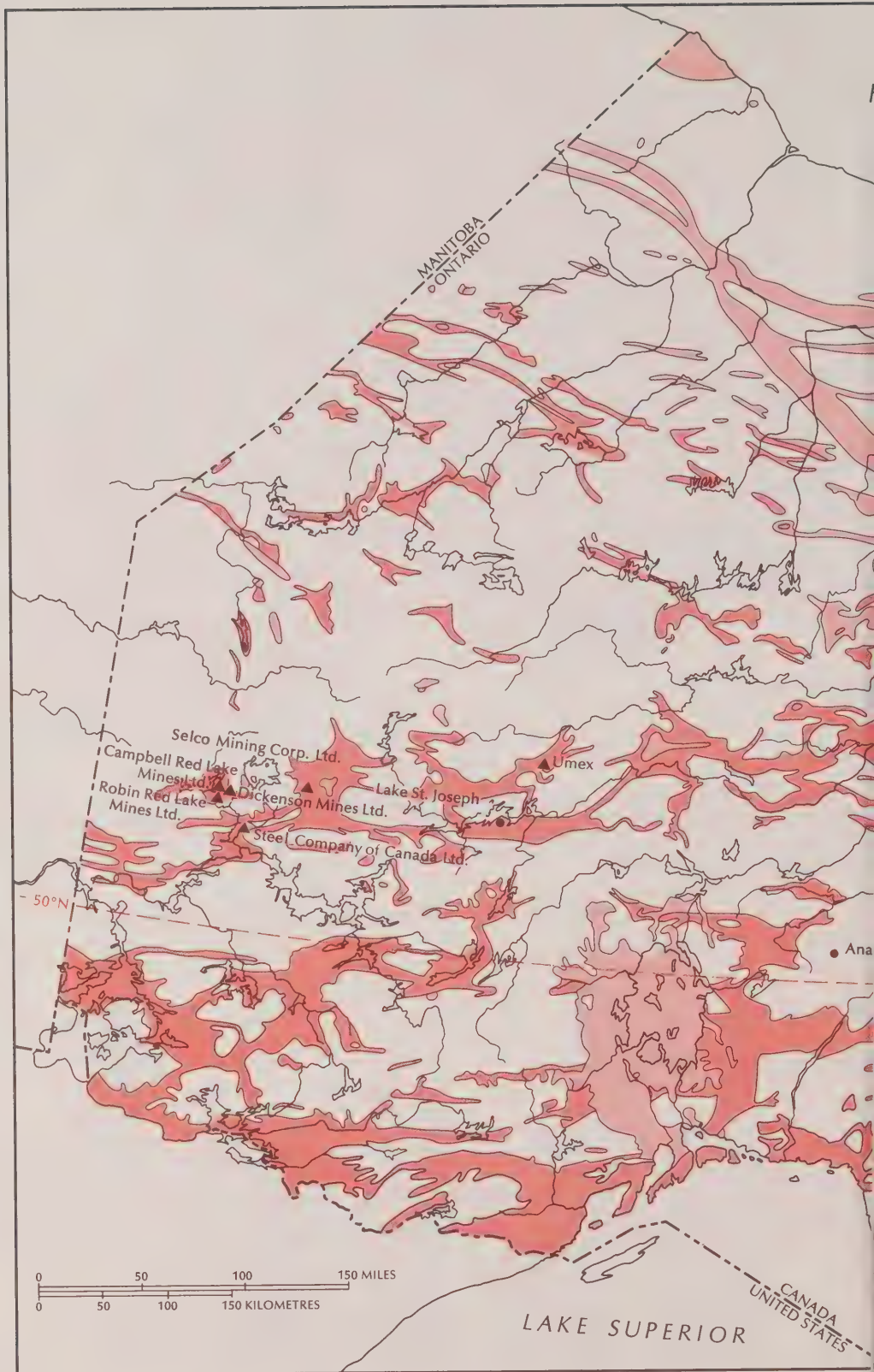


TIMBER HARVESTING

Cunits ¹ of Timber by Species Groups Harvested North of 50°		1973/74	1974/75	1975/76	1976/77
Ministry of Natural Resources' Administrative Regions ²					
NORTHWESTERN—CONIFERS		250,753	275,422	284,891	278,332
HARDWOODS		1,275	475	418	631
ALL SPECIES		252,028	275,897	285,309	278,963
NORTH CENTRAL CONIFERS		52,884	101,665	82,042	112,346
HARDWOODS		1,188	6,762	9,324	3,788
ALL SPECIES		54,072	108,427	91,366	116,134
NORTHERN CONIFERS		22,601	—	22,906	11,477
HARDWOODS		—	—	—	—
TOTAL CONIFERS		326,238	377,087	389,029	402,155
HARDWOODS		2,463	7,237	9,742	4,419
ALL SPECIES		328,701	384,324	398,771	406,574
Percentage of Crown Land Timber Cut North of 50°		6.5%	7.5%	12.2%	8.8%
Percentage of Harvested Area North of 50° Clear Cut		86.4%	85.1%	88.7%	89.3%
Percentage of Harvested Area North of 50° Not Being Regenerated ³		42.1%	34.1%	30.1%	24.6%

Notes:-

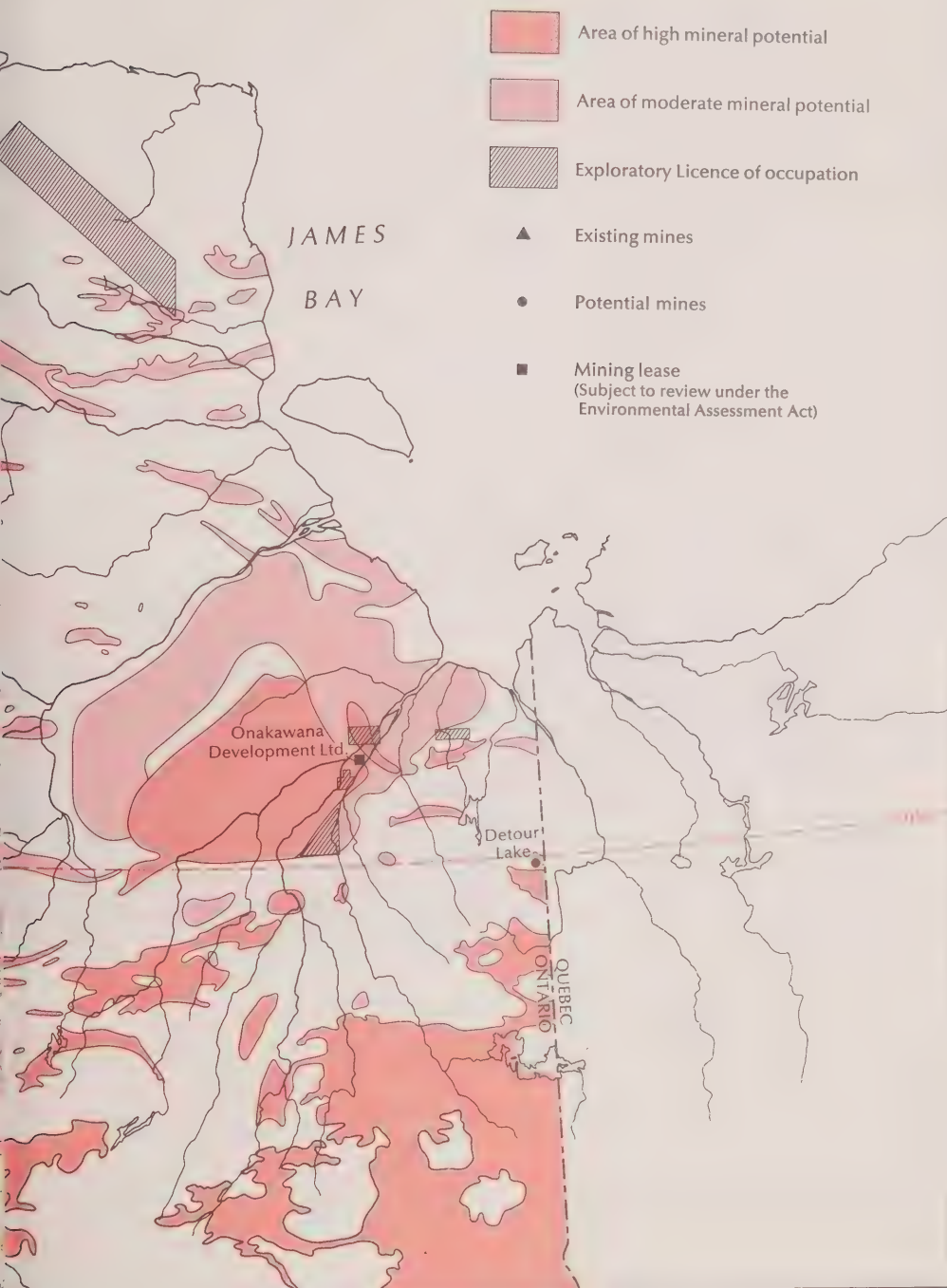
- 1 Cunit = 100 cubic feet
- 2 The three Ministry of Natural Resources administrative regions which lie north of 50° are roughly as follows:
Northwestern — Lake Nipigon west to Manitoba; North Central — Lake Nipigon east to an imaginary line running north out of the east end of Lake Superior; Northern — east to Quebec and northwest to Manitoba taking in the Hudson Bay-James Bay Lowlands.
- 3 Area not being regenerated excludes harvested land for roads, buildings and other such uses. Also, unsuccessful regeneration is not accounted for.



ON BAY

MINING POTENTIAL

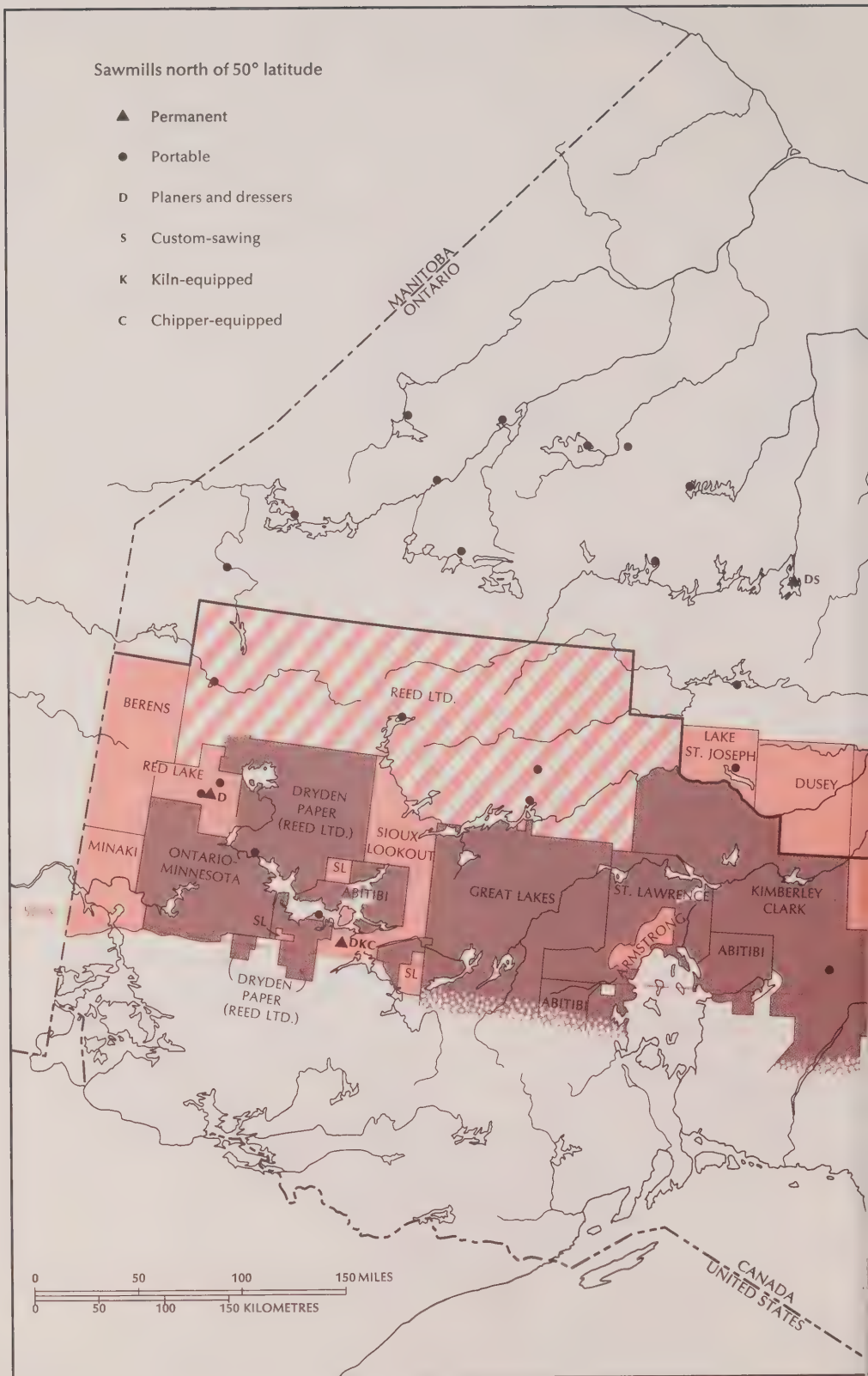
1977 information



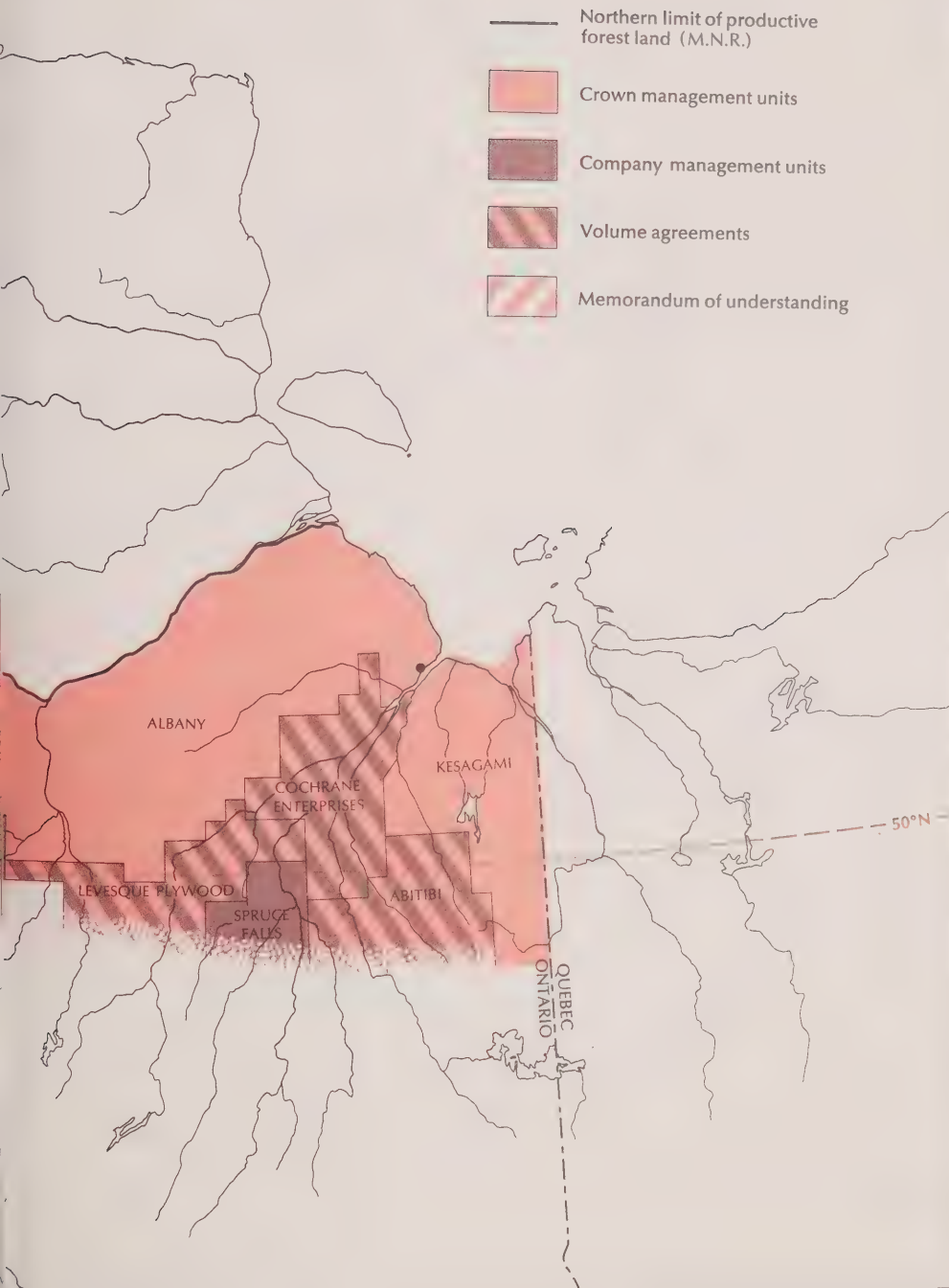
ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE NORTHERN ENVIRONMENT

Sawmills north of 50° latitude

- ▲ Permanent
- Portable
- D Planers and dressers
- S Custom-sawing
- K Kiln-equipped
- C Chipper-equipped

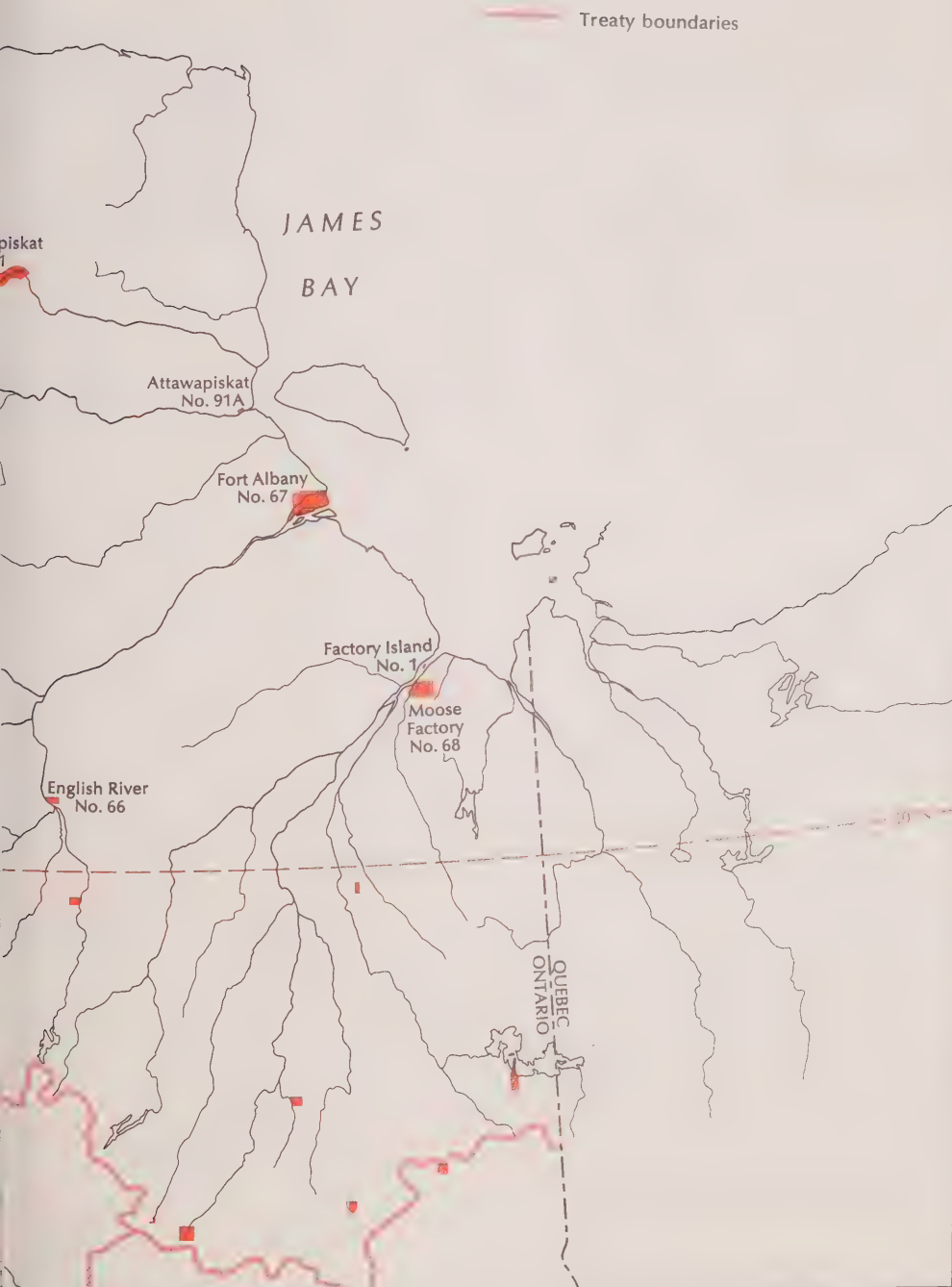


FORESTRY



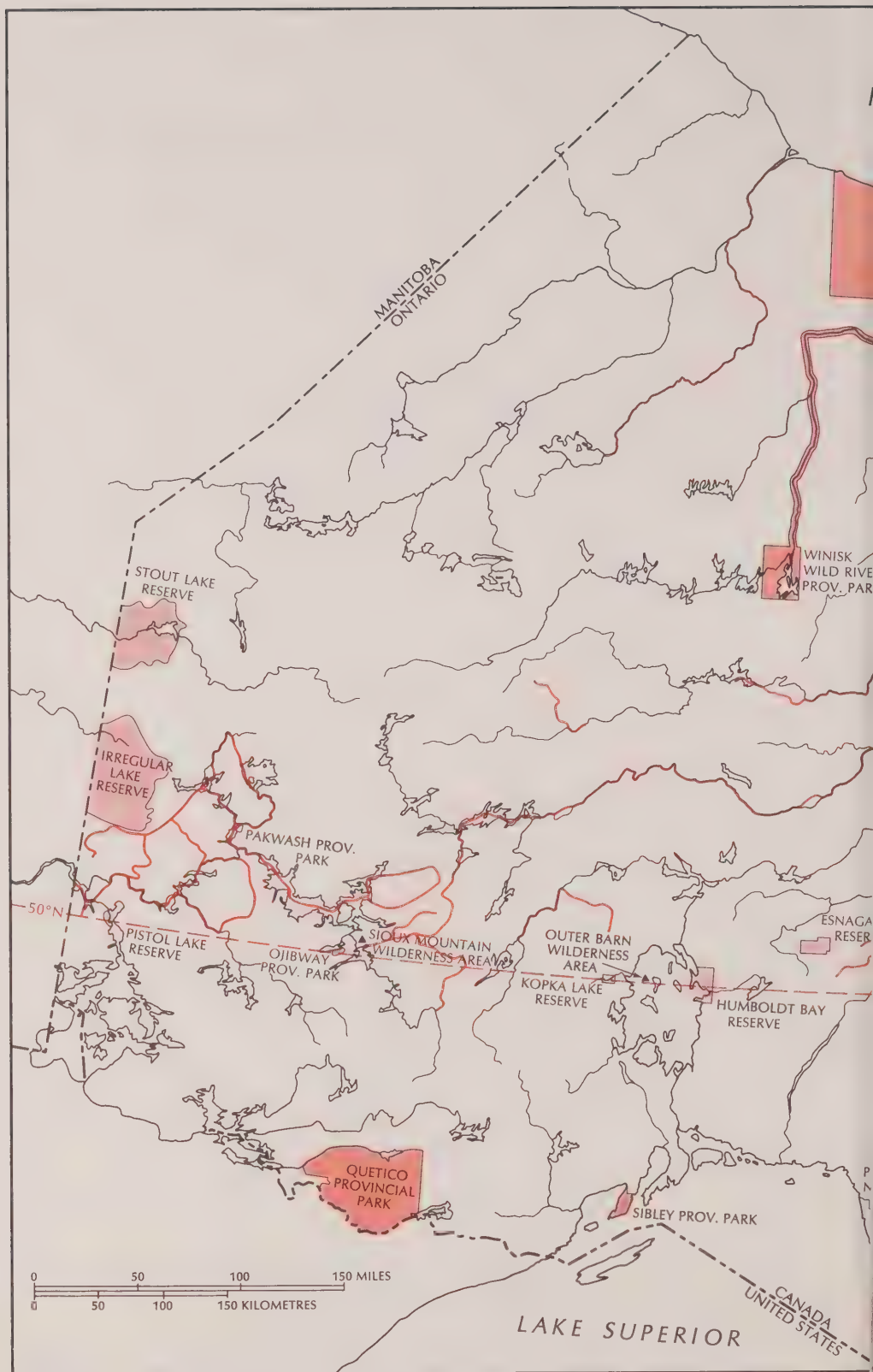
ON BAY

INDIAN RESERVES



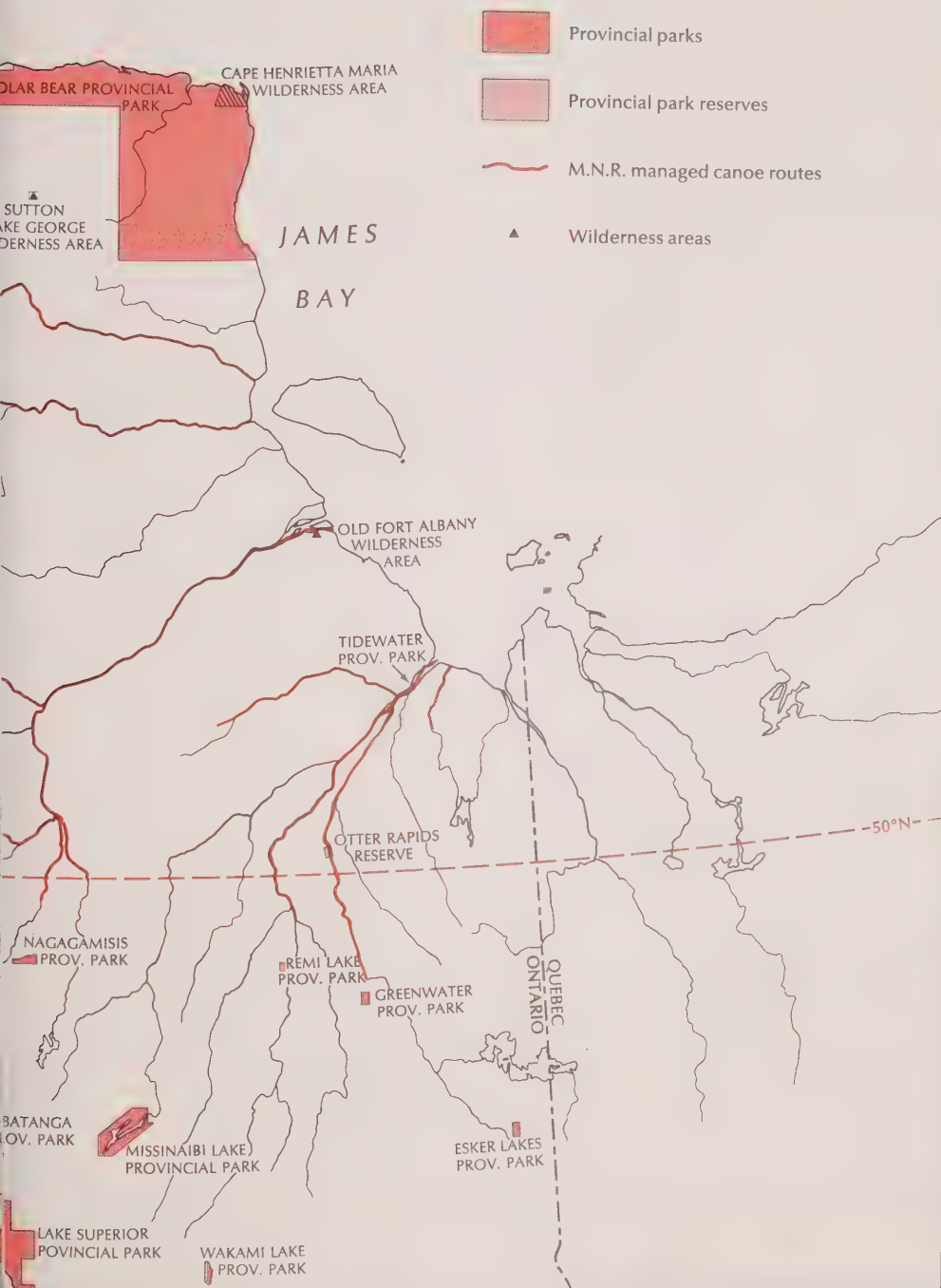
ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE NORTHERN ENVIRONMENT

NOTE: The numbers assigned to certain Reserves were designated by Dept. of Indian Affairs and Northern Development for identification purposes under the Treaties.

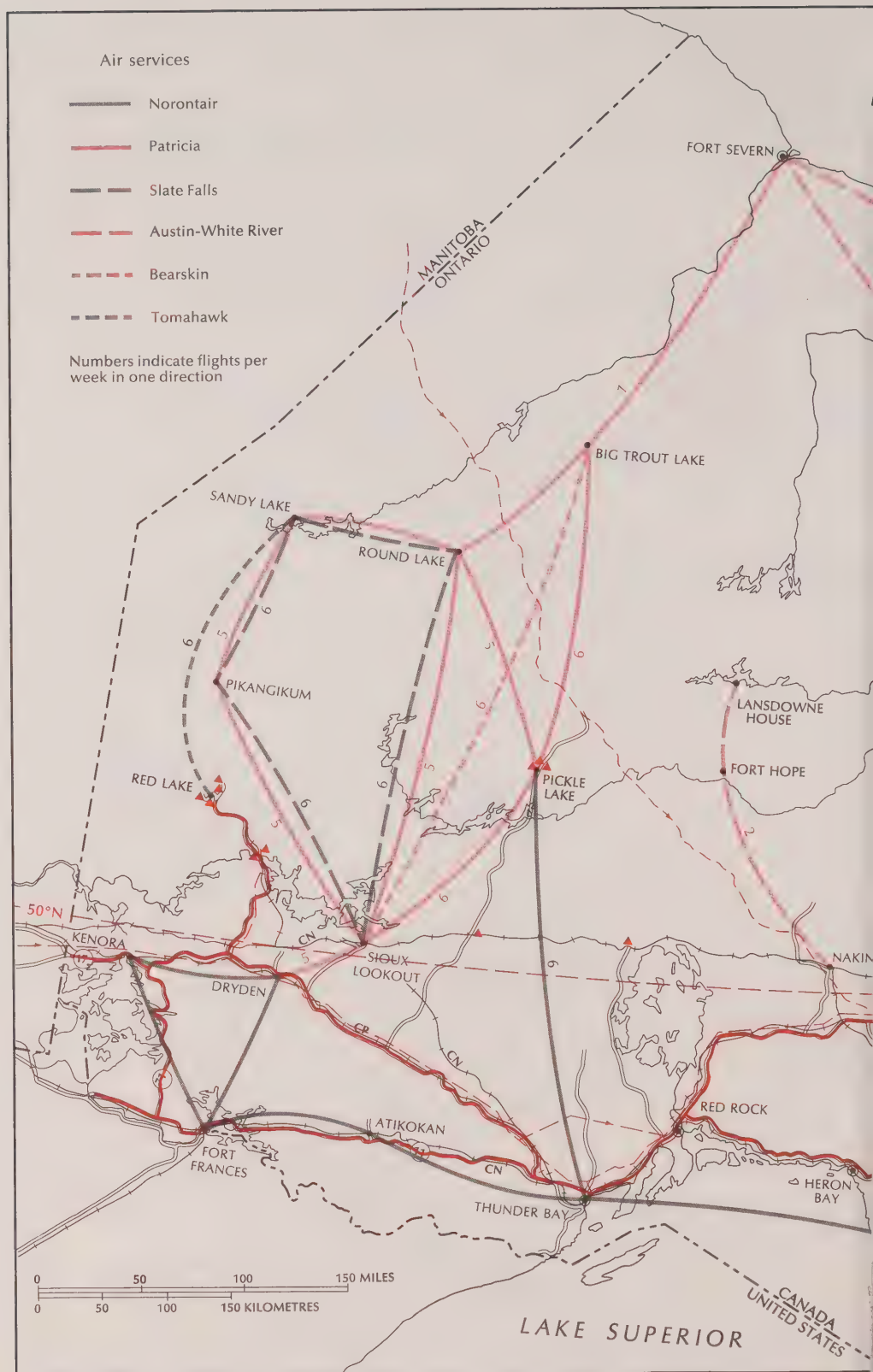


ON BAY

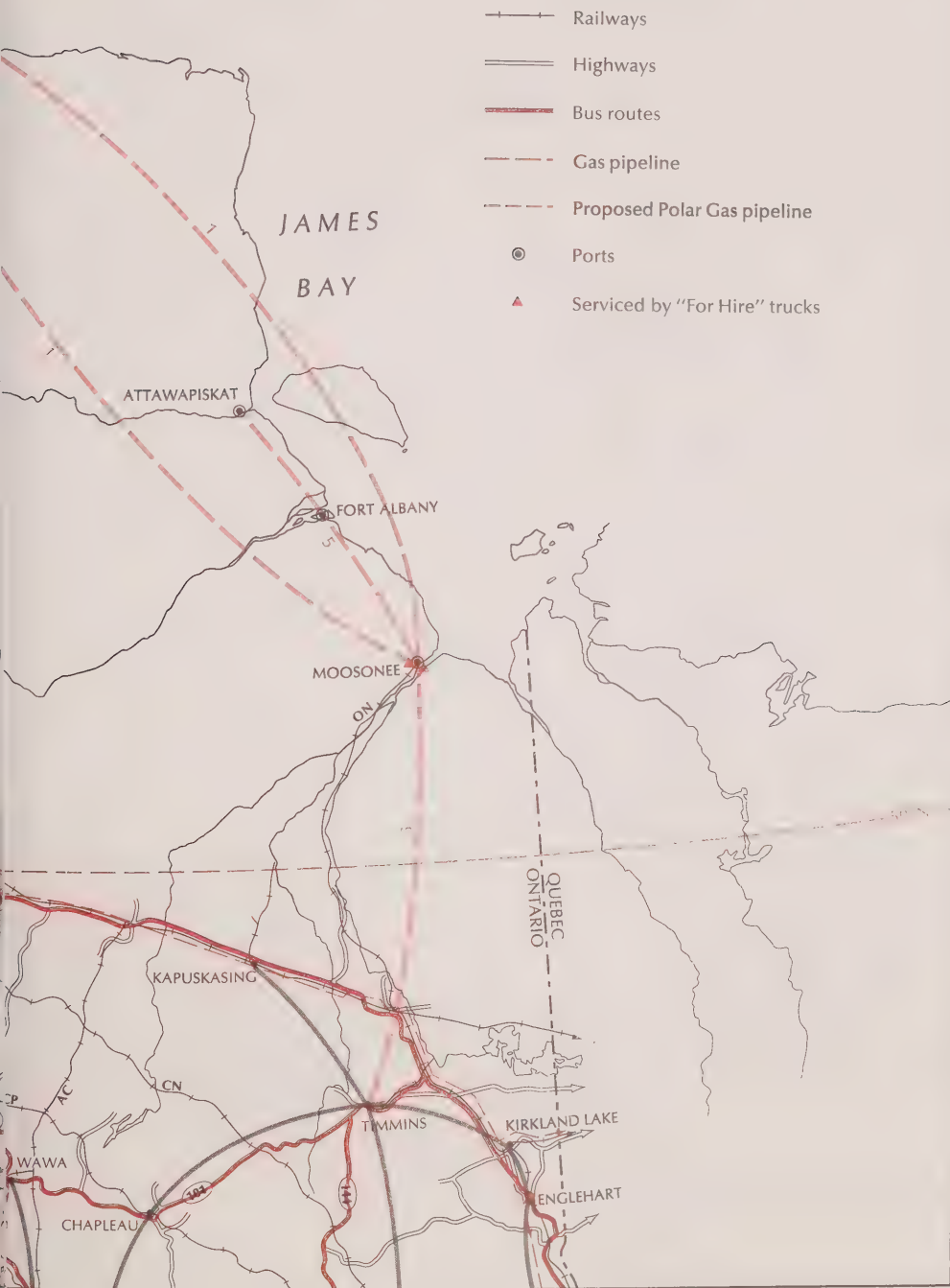
PARKS AND RESERVES

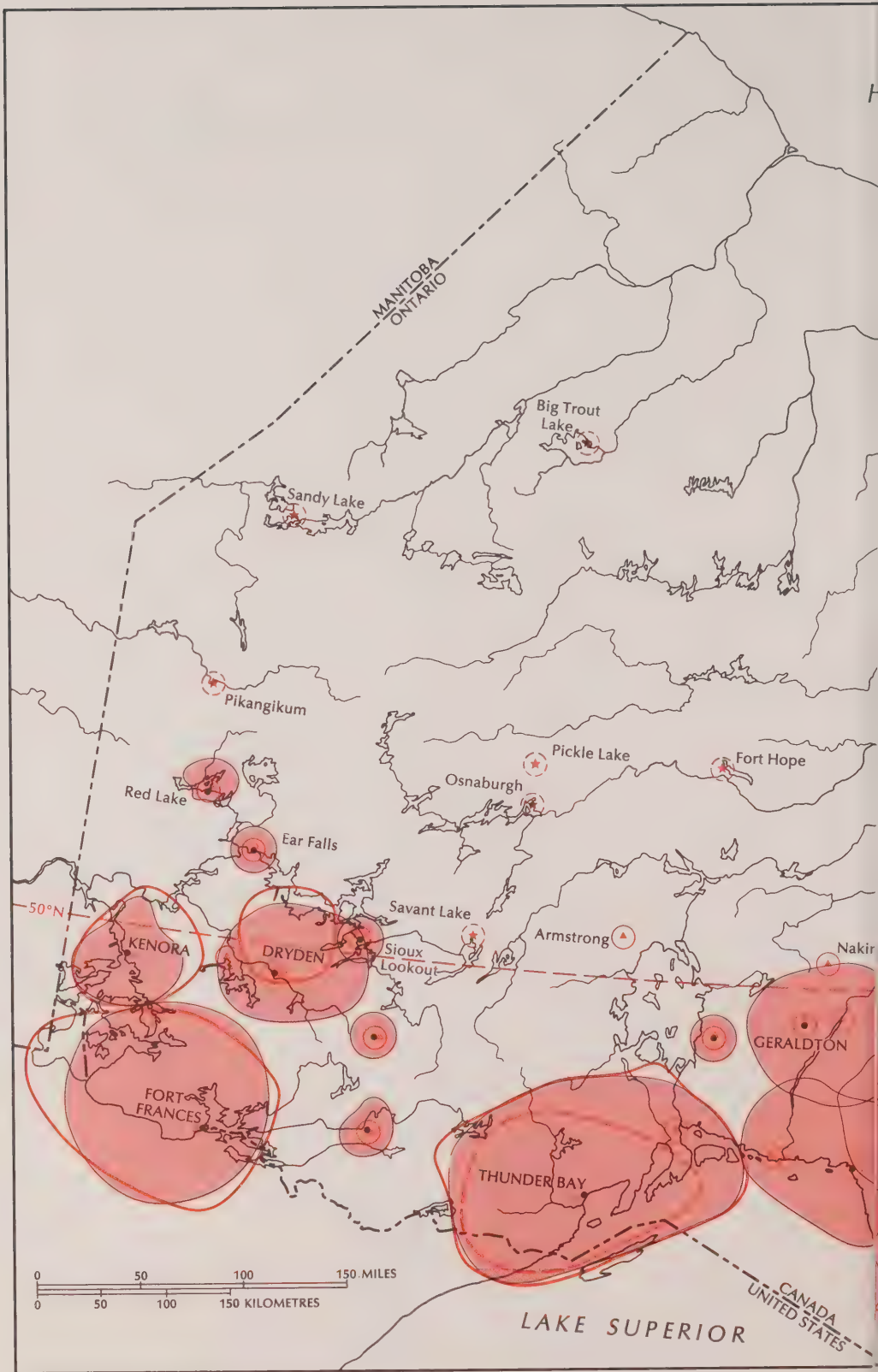


ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE NORTHERN ENVIRONMENT



TRANSPORTATION





ON BAY

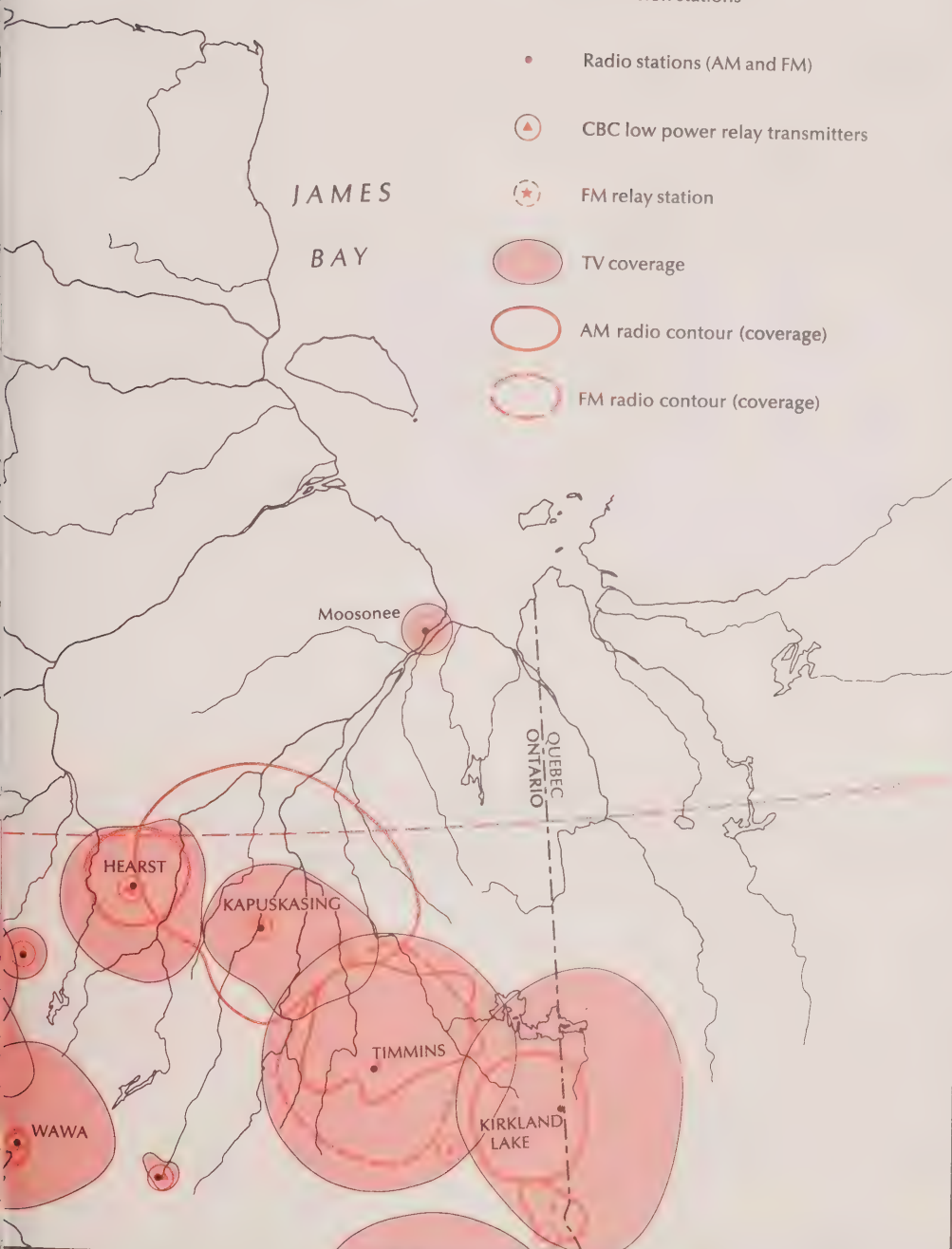
RADIO AND TELEVISION

1977 information

Communities with one or more:

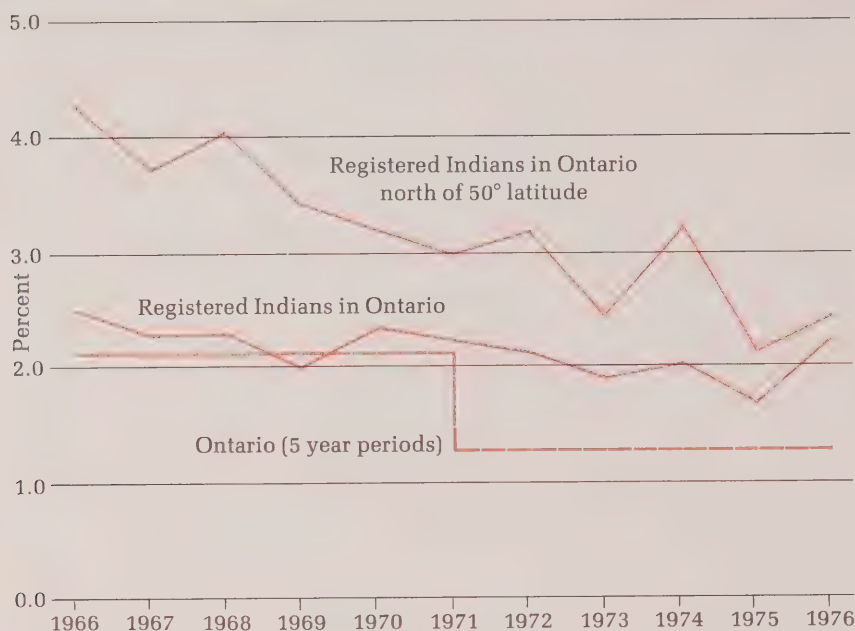
- Television stations
- Radio stations (AM and FM)
- ▲ CBC low power relay transmitters
- ★ FM relay station

- TV coverage
- AM radio contour (coverage)
- FM radio contour (coverage)



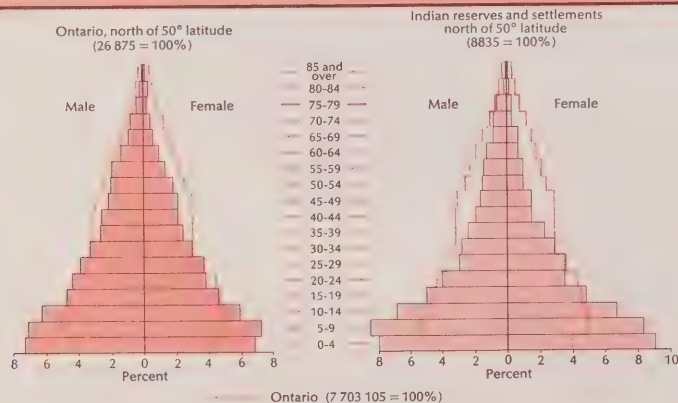
ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE NORTHERN ENVIRONMENT

POPULATION GROWTH RATES, FOR
REGISTERED INDIANS NORTH OF 50 DEGREES LATITUDE ONTARIO,
REGISTERED INDIANS IN ONTARIO, AND ONTARIO, 1966 - 76.



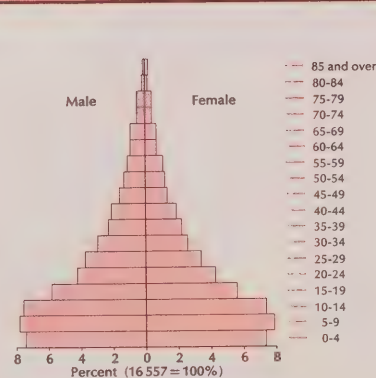
SOURCE: Registered Indian population growth rates for Ontario and Ontario North of 50 degrees. Registered Indian Population 1965-1973 (March 1975); Registered Indian Population, 1974 and Registered Indian Population, 1975; Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Departmental Statistics Division. Population growth rates for Ontario, Social Indicators for Ontario, 1977 Ministry of Treasury, Economics, and Intergovernmental Affairs, (August, 1977).

AGE, SEX DISTRIBUTION FOR POPULATION IN ONTARIO, ONTARIO
N. OF 50 DEGREES AND INDIAN RESERVES AND SETTLEMENTS
N. OF 50 DEGREES, 1971.



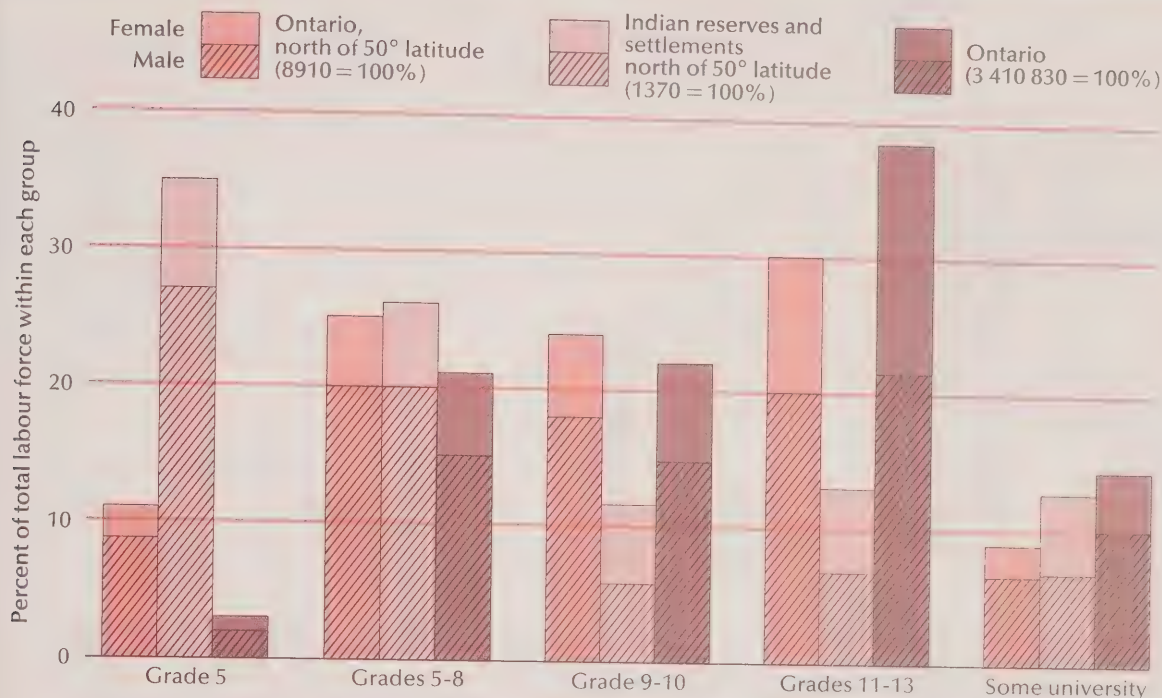
SOURCE: Statistics Canada, 1971 Census

AGE, SEX DISTRIBUTION FOR REGISTERED
INDIAN BAND POPULATION, ONTARIO
N. OF 50 DEGREES, 1976.



SOURCE: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1976.

LABOUR FORCE BY LEVEL OF SCHOOLING FOR ONTARIO NORTH OF 50°, INDIAN RESERVES AND SETTLEMENTS NORTH OF 50°, AND ONTARIO, 1971



SOURCE: Statistics Canada, 1971 Census

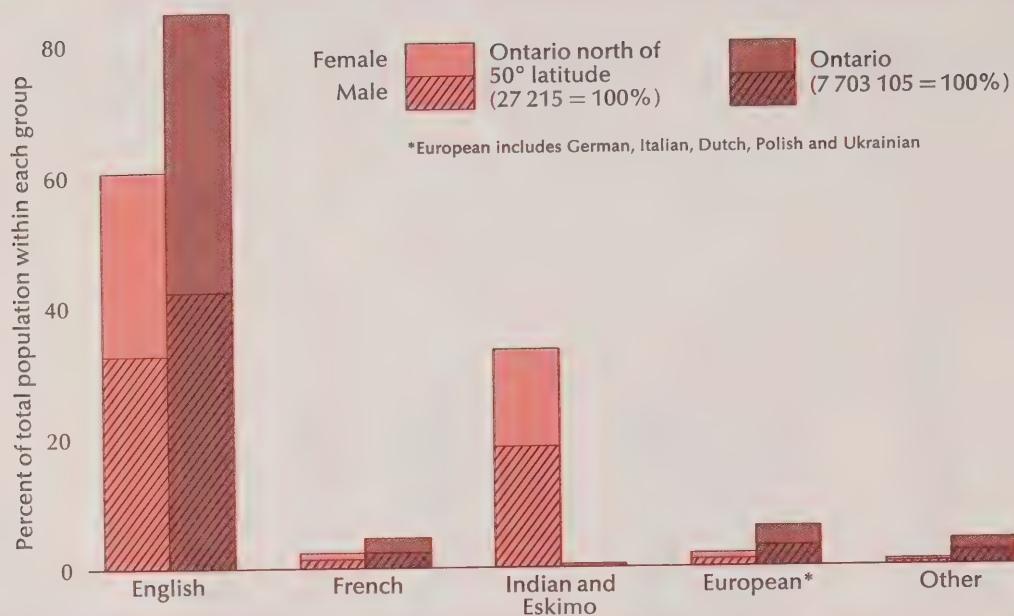
TOTAL POPULATION, AVERAGE INCOME PER FAMILY AND OF FAMILY HEADS AND AVERAGE FAMILY SIZE FOR ONTARIO NORTH OF 50°, INDIAN RESERVES AND SETTLEMENTS NORTH OF 50° AND ONTARIO, 1971

	Total Number of Persons	Average Income per Family \$	Average Income for Heads of Families \$	Average Family Size
Ontario N. of 50°	24,930	7,064	5,840	4.43
Indian Reserves & Settlements North of 50°	8,175	3,034	2,421	5.39
Ontario	6,738,065	10,661	8,253	3.58

SOURCE: Statistics Canada, 1971 Census

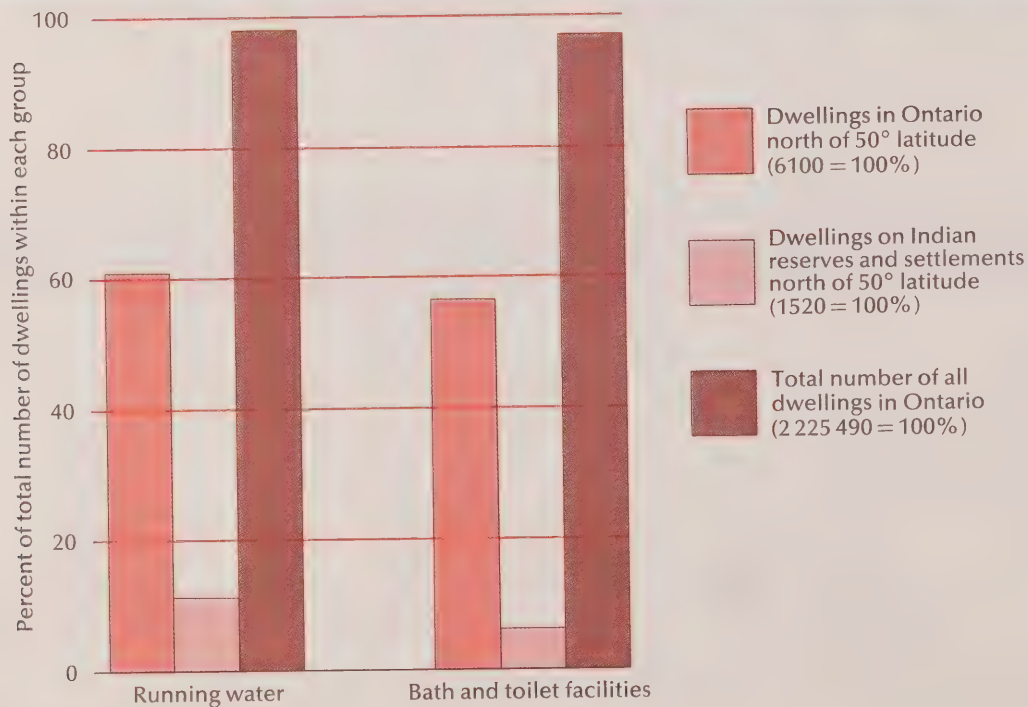
Note: Ontario N. of 50° includes Indian population (approximately 2/3)

POPULATION BY LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT HOME
FOR ONTARIO NORTH OF 50° AND ONTARIO, 1971



SOURCE: Statistics Canada, 1971 Census

INDOOR PLUMBING FACILITIES FOR ONTARIO NORTH OF 50°,
INDIAN RESERVES AND SETTLEMENTS NORTH OF 50° AND ONTARIO, 1971



SOURCE: Statistics Canada, 1971 Census

ISSUES



A Background Paper on Behalf of The Royal Commission on the Northern Environment.

Chapter

5

The Impacts of Development

	Page		Page
Negotiate with the North		Women in the North	
Industry and Government Urged	147	Seek Justice	169
Cultural Concerns Require		Discrimination and	
"A Leap of Understanding"	151	Inequality of Opportunity	173
Mercury Pollution		Out-Migration	
A Northern Tragedy	155	Imperils Northern Future	179
High Costs		Employment	
A Disincentive to Living in the North	161	A Factor in Northern Identity	183
Alcoholism		Environmental Standards	
A Particular Scourge in the North	165	Necessary Safeguards	189

The bracketed notations following the quotations identify the individual or organization making the presentation before the Commission, site of the preliminary hearing, and the page number in the transcript where the quotation may be found.

THE IMPACTS OF DEVELOPMENT

The feeling of alienation among northern residents has been expressed to me time and time again, often with what appeared to be justifiable emotion. Northerners consider that government is not accessible to them. Admittedly, people live in northern Ontario because they choose to do so, or their parents or grandparents chose before them. This does not mean, however, that they have forfeited their right to have a say in the decisions of government which clearly affect their lives, nor to help find ways to stimulate the economic basis of their communities. Even with the powers of local government, northerners seek greater and more effective involvement in the decisions that shape their future just as the Indian people seek the capacity to govern their own local affairs.

—Justice E. P. Hartt

Negotiate With the North, Industry and Government Urged

DEVELOPMENT HAS, to a great extent, made the north what it is today. It has produced benefits and caused problems, some grievous. But it is the way that development occurs — how and where the decisions are made — that caused the deepest concern among many northerners who addressed the Commission.

Northern residents described themselves to the Royal Commission as politically powerless, dominated by southern-based populations, governments and corporations. Their plea was for greater northern and local input into planning, for more self-determination.

Non-native residents, for the most part, saw themselves as both northerners and Ontarians. As northerners they felt close to the land. As Ontarians, they claimed the right to petition and influence their governments in Toronto and in Ottawa to protect their land and mitigate the unwelcome side-effects of economic development. Yet they recognized, and were frustrated by, their inability in the present scheme of government and politics to ensure that decisions made in the south would reflect all of the needs of the north.

Native people reminded the Royal Commission of the importance they attribute to their continuous link with the land, of the land's spiritual significance and role in their sense of identity. Their desire was to preserve this ongoing relationship for themselves and their children.

Yet achieving this goal of continuity seemed impossible in the face of pressures for development by non-northerners, in the main

non-native, who did not understand the crucial relevance for Indians for their relationship with the land to their survival as a people.

Mercury pollution was one by-product of economic development in the north which was often mentioned to illustrate the dilemma facing native populations. Mercury contamination of lakes and rivers has had devastating social, economic and health effects, the Commission learned. Commercial fishing for profit has ended and fishing for one's dinner is unwise. Tourism has suffered from the understandably adverse publicity given mercury-contaminated waters. In turn, guiding, another once major source of income for native residents, has been negatively affected.

At present, most people in Ontario north of 50 live in an economically depressed condition. Government transfer payments have become a way of life for people who once flourished and were self-sufficient in a demanding environment. To complicate matters further, some of the native people in communities affected by mercury pollution face the possibility of a crippling and mind-wasting disease if they continue to maintain the fish diet that has nourished them in the past.

Negative conditions turn life upside down

Despair under present conditions in the north is understandable. Alcoholism in the north seems born out of that despair. Among the most devastating, long-term, social by-products of economic development in the north, is the increase in alcohol addiction among native peoples. Its prevalence is a heart-breaking commentary on a way of life turned upside down.

There are causes other than economic for alcoholism in the north. The lack of social amenities, the dullness of isolation, play into a mood of depression. Not only native people find themselves trapped in cycles of drinking and self-degradation, non-natives are similarly affected. Even to detached professional observers, the social breakdown in some communities and the abuse of alcohol is seen as overwhelming.

While social dislocations caused by large-scale development touch nearly everyone in the north, the Commission was told that women were possibly more painfully affected than men. Limited social and cultural outlets, the high costs of living, the inadequacy of support services, the lack of jobs, all contribute to the physical and mental burdens carried by northern women, both native and non-native. Additional strains are imposed on those women, recently arrived, adjusting to a new and strange community.

Among the hoped-for advantages of planned development is the creation of jobs. Unemployment is a problem throughout the north

In Indian communities, paid employment opportunities are very limited. In other population centres, employment possibilities are affected in number and scope by the usually limited number of employers. In one-industry towns where the sustaining resource is nearly depleted, future employment is an understandable pre-occupation.

Native people come to the job market at an even greater disadvantage than the unemployed of other cultures. Their job skills, and their very way of life, do not allow them to be easily absorbed into industrial work.

Young people, if they want to find employment opportunities appropriate to their education and skill levels, frequently must move away from their home areas, even though they might wish to stay.

Looking to the future when the employment picture might be brightened by increased development prospects, some northerners are apprehensive that environmental harm might follow. Controls to protect the environment and its undeveloped resources for their children were advocated by many northerners who seek an influential role for themselves in the decision-making process.

Addressing the Commission, a Treaty # 9 chief, wary of the social impacts of development, seemed to speak for all northerners when he called for:

"... equality of opportunity ... the opportunity to use the skills and knowledge that we have in order to make a living, the opportunity to learn the skills that we do not have in order to become self-sufficient ... the opportunity to teach our children what we think is important, the opportunity to retain our culture, our language, and the things that are important to us, the opportunity to live the way we want to live, choosing wisely which additions from the south will benefit our lives ... We want to be consulted ... and being consulted does not mean being informed. It means being listened to and being heard. If the government had only listened to half of the things we had said, our children would be in a lot better shape than they are today. And so I plead with you for our grandchildren to come. If the south does not choose to deal with the questions of survival, at least give us the opportunity to do so."

(Chief Saul Fiddler, Sandy Lake, p. 2421)



Cultural Concerns Require "A Leap of Understanding"

All developments in the north affect two or more cultures — Euro-Canadian and native. Values, attitudes and languages differ. The impact of development on indigenous cultures can be harmful, indeed disastrous. But need such a negative result occur? Can development be designed so that cultural differences do not lead to cultural degradation? To what extent can the record of past experiences be useful in avoiding social upheaval in designing the future?

Which Values and What Developments?

Cultural differences between northerners were obvious throughout the hearings of the Royal Commission. Many native people had difficulty in expressing their views in English or through an interpreter, particularly when trying to illustrate a point through expounding a legend or relating an actual experience.

White people had less language difficulty in relating their experiences of life in the north. Many declared themselves to be natives of the north in their own right, and resented any suggestion from others that they were not.

One long-time resident of the north described Indian and non-Indian natives of the north as dissident voices of frontier Ontario experience, each counterpointing the other as would the call of a loon over the incessant humming of a motorboat, dissident because of the lack of a shared understanding of what the north should be like and how its people should relate to their environment and each other.

Acceptance and endorsement of "controlled development" ran through almost every presentation at the Royal Commission hearings. However, the phrase "controlled development" impressed the Commission as having different meanings for different people.

In the view of many northerners, government and private initiatives in northern Ontario have consistently reflected southern values.

No speaker at the hearings, native or non-native, supported the old style of development — the "extract and move on" approach. Yet no answers acceptable to everyone surfaced in the discussions about northern developments.

In its Interim Report of April 4, 1978, the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment had noted the impracticability of dealing with the various issues separately and at random, as though the successful resolution of one would lead to the successful resolution of another. This might be a useful approach if all persons living in northern Ontario were committed to a single understanding of life, but it was precisely this condition which was absent. There was no consensus among northerners about the future and the Commission was given to understand that Ontario must face this fact and its implications.

Learn from Each Other—Message of the North

While northerners as a whole have much in common, there are areas of potential conflict between groups as well. Yet both the universalities and the differences are based on cultural concerns.

A non-native, who has learned to understand and appreciate the Indian way of life and world view, attempted to explain the differences between the contrasting cultures to the Commission. She felt that a non-native as a rule was more individualistic than an Indian who:

"... seems to see himself first of all as a member of a group or a community of people and secondly as an individual. And he does not see himself as separate from his environment. There are not the same 'ego boundaries' between himself and the environment that we have, so destruction of his environment is an assault on his self."

(Linda Pelton, Sioux Lookout, p. 301)

The speaker also stressed the difficulty a non-native must overcome in order to begin to comprehend what native people are about:

"I think it takes a tremendous flexibility of the mind; it requires being able to really turn your head around and see something from a very different point of view."

(Linda Pelton, Sioux Lookout, p. 301)

If the effort is made, however, and that "leap of understanding" successful, it becomes evident that the two cultures have a lot to learn from each other. The Ontario Federation of Labour told the Commission that:

"We admire their (native people) spirit, their love for their land, and their respect for the environment. We feel we have much to learn from them, if it is not already too late."

(Ontario Federation of Labour, Kenora, p. 2660)

Native people spoke of the respect Indians hold for their elders, and contrasted this with the situation in non-native society:

"It has been a tradition of our people that the elders in the community hold the highest respect from the younger people and it has been carried on for generations. We have lost all these things due to the fast progress of society, but we are going back to these lifestyles now. In your society (non-native) when people ... get old, past the age of 65, the children are anxious

to put them away in the old folks homes. Coffins and flowers have been prepared and land has been set aside for their going away. It is not like this in our community. Our elders have the wealth of knowledge and all the things that go with it and we hold them in the highest regard. We use them right to the departing day."

(Chief Wallace McKay, Osnaburgh, p. 1782)

Understanding the humanity of Indian culture makes it easier to understand their spirituality. As a speaker from Treaty # 3 described it to the Commission, Indian people operate on:

"A different level of consciousness."

(Peter Kelly, Toronto, p. 2192)

A young Indian woman told the Commission:

"I can think but I do it in silence. I can speak but only when necessary, and I can feel."

(Roberta Keesick, Kenora, p. 2681)

At the hearings, native people spoke in their own language, translated by an interpreter, or spoke in English as their second language. The Commission was told how difficult the latter effort was and how much listeners were missing in not understanding the Indian point of view as expressed in Cree or Ojibway:

"The only regret that I have in our presentations is that you are not able to understand our first language."

(Chief Andrew Rickard, Moosonee, p. 3082)

The importance of language and its relation to native culture was also stressed:

"The Ojibway language is a very great language and blends with a natural relationship with the Universe. In it are naturalistic and humanistic concepts to give us the meaning that relate to human and natural behaviour, but with far more expression than many other languages. The power of speech is a great gift and serves as a messenger of the spirits. For the first part, it acknowledges that man has these things to do in his lifetime. When the language dies, the ways of living dies with it. Sadly such a passing of time goes unnoticed."

(Chief Gabriel Meecham, Geraldton, p. 1361)

The Indian languages are highly indicative of native spirituality and much is revealed through the words the people use. For example, the word which native people use to describe themselves, Anishnawbe, has a very profound meaning:

"Anishnawbe in our language means to be unworthy or insignificant and this philosophical orientation is to be humble, so Anishnawbe means the humble people before the eyes of the Great Spirit."

(Peter Kelly, Toronto, p. 2190)

The people of Treaty #9 emphasized as indissoluble their bond to the land, referring to themselves as the Anishnawbe-Aski, the people and the land:

"The land is the people; people cannot survive without the land."

(Deer Lake Community, Sandy Lake, p. 2401)

Several northerners urged the Commission to listen closely to native people:

"I think they have something to tell us, and we should listen. You cannot live for long on top of this environment, which is what white people do as a rule. You have to learn to live in it and with it, which is what the Indians traditionally have done."

(Millie Barrett, Geraldton, p. 1415)

Non-native northerners can also feel an attachment to the land:

"The people who belong here, whether they are born here or are here by choice, will tell you that it isn't so much that they chose this land but that the land chose them. The land, the bush, is the arbiter of everything here. The bush imposes a certain respect, a certain humility, a certain healthy tempering of human arrogance. And it promotes a certain competence, an ability to deal with the essentials, to cope with harsh realities among those who belong here."

(Millie Barrett, Geraldton, p. 1403)

The Commission was left with little doubt that northerners consider themselves different from those who live in other parts of Ontario:

"Remarkable and inspiring are the fortitude, tenacity, patience and plain courage of the northern people and the way they had to cope. Northerners have developed into a breed unto themselves."

(J. Edwin Fahlgren, Red Lake, p. 627)

The Northern Ontario Heritage Party elaborated:

"The geographic, historic, cultural, economic and political differences between northern Ontario and southern Ontario cannot be hidden or ignored. The unique identity and character of northern Ontario and its people has survived and even grown during the years."

(Northern Ontario Heritage Party, Timmins, p. 1038)

Non-native northerners through their spokespeople declared themselves as much a part of the north as the native people:

"Many of the residents of these communities have lived here all their lives, and there are many second and third generation residents whose forebears were among the original settlers of this region."

(Cochrane Board of Trade, Timmins, p. 1133)

One speaker felt the two cultures had much to give each other:

"The Indian culture . . . has a great many things to offer us for which we ourselves are quite openly seeking answers . . . a healthier approach to the handling of grief and death, a more personal approach to the delivery of health care, a more sane view of man's relationship to his environment, and a more appropriate way of relating to past offenders against society . . . We are good at the management of physical things and in the creation of tools to assist us in our life. When we are at our best, and not mindlessly destroying the world around us, we do create some marvelous inventions which enrich our lives together."

(Rev. Stuart Harvey, Kenora, p. 2747)

A special point was made that understanding between the indigenous population and those more recently settled in the north is often lacking. Native people, particularly, seem to feel the effects of the resulting limited understanding:

"A lot of people question what our contributions are in society. Historians have failed to acknowledge these areas of our contribution. We tried with extreme difficulty to forget what happened yesterday . . . We are branded with every imaginable term by the oppressors . . . Every time we come out to speak and discuss how we feel about the environment and the land, we are told: 'How dare you speak? Why are you so militant? Are you not satisfied with all the things we are providing for you?'"

(Treaty #9, Timmins, p. 1119)



Yet, both natives and non-natives expressed similar views about development:

"Mr. Commissioner, we have been falsely accused of being opposed to any kind of development, and wishing to return to some 16th century setting which can never be recovered. We reject that concept. We oppose uncontrolled development that diminishes people and views the environment as a problem to be solved, as damages to be minimized in the relentless search for more and more non-renewable resources. We oppose that kind of development that exists for the profits and pleasures of a few people, most of whom live outside the north."

(Treaty # 9, Sioux Lookout, p. 89)

The option to maintain their own lifestyle is an important one to native people, as many of them sense that the values of the dominant society have gone astray. A psychiatrist working in the north attempted to articulate this feeling:

"It is not surprising that the young native quickly realizes that a workable adaption to the white man's complex society will demand of him a brain-washing which could threaten his emotional stability."

(Dr. Gerald Greenbaum, Toronto, p. 2093)

Or, as Millie Barrett put it:

"It is not proper or fruitful to adjust to something that is less than good . . . they (native people) are conscious of a certain malaise, a certain feeling of detachment, of unreality, about what we've been asking them to 'adjust' to."

(Millie Barrett, Geraldton, p. 1415)

What the Indian people asked of the Royal Commission was what all northerners have made their case for many years — involvement in the planning and decisions affecting their lives:

"We want honesty and justice from both governments, to be recognized as humans, and we want the right also to have a voice in the decision-making on proposals and projects that will affect us in our way of living, living in peace and harmony with nature."

(Attawapiskat Band, Moose Factory, p. 3233)

Recognition by speakers of the importance of understanding the cultural differences underlying their common needs appeared as the beginnings of wisdom at Commission hearings. As the Anti-Mercury Ojibway Group (A-MOG) told the Commission:

"Deeply felt divisions exist in the north today . . . Unpleasant truths must be faced . . . Only by a full comprehension of these divisions and the facts on which they are based can understanding and perhaps even accommodation begin."

(A-MOG, Whitedog, p. 2833)

A similar sentiment was expressed by the Improvement District of Pickle Lake:

"It is our feeling that unless the two groups can start communicating with each other . . . northwestern Ontario is in for some real trouble in years to come."

(Improvement District of Pickle Lake, Pickle Lake, p. 1674)

Mercury Pollution—A Northern Tragedy

Mercury pollution of the English-Wabigoon River system was one of the concerns that led to the establishment of the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment. The dissemination of mercury waste was raised by native people at the hearings as constituting a threat to human health and the natural environment, as well as being a factor in the social and economic demise of their communities. Not all northerners were as upset as most. Some argued that the mercury menace had been exaggerated by media exploitation.

A Public Issue Since 1970

A phrase associated with Alice in Wonderland, "as mad as a hatter", does actually describe the very real effects of mercury on the central nervous system, ranging from palsy to psychosis.

The observation grew out of the use of mercury in the manufacture of hats in 19th century Britain. While the dangers of mercury have long been known, the metal has continued to be employed in various forms in industrial processes, including those used for a time at the paper mill in Dryden, Ontario.

Mounting alarm over mercury pollution led, in 1970, to closure of commercial fishing in the English-Wabigoon River system on which the Dryden mill is located. Two Ojibway communities, Whitedog and Grassy Narrows, are situated downstream. Slowly, information had filtered down to these people that they may be faced with an ongoing health hazard in addition to the social chaos caused by the abrupt curtailment of their main source of livelihood.

Through the next few years, the people of the two Indian reserves witnessed an increase of violence and disintegration in their communities. This exaggerated tendency towards violence is one of the medically known effects of mercury contamination, as well as being a social product of the turmoil created when communities lose their source of income. In Grassy Narrows, a community of approximately 500, there was a violent death every month for a period of two years.

When the company, whose mill at Dryden was alleged to have contaminated the river system with mercury, proposed to increase its logging operations north of 50 and build another pulp mill at Ear Falls or Red Lake, public reaction was widespread. Opponents were outraged by what they saw as government granting the last remaining virgin timber stand to one of the most notorious polluters in the province. The public outcry led directly to the establishment of a commission of inquiry into the proposed scheme. Through the urgings of Treaty # 9 and others, the commission's mandate was expanded and it became the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment.

Under the circumstances of its newsworthiness and immediacy, it was inevitable that mercury pollution would be a major topic in the Commission's hearings.

Whitedog and Grassy Narrows—Forlorn Communities

Mercury contamination of the English-Wabigoon River system (and its effects on the communities of Whitedog and Grassy Narrows) was not a new problem when it was brought before the Commission. It was almost eight years since the people affected had begun to seek some sort of recognition and response to the anguish mercury contamination had brought to them.

Early in its hearings the Commission heard a brief submission from the Anti-Mercury Ojibway Group (A-MOG)¹ sketching the impacts of mercury pollution on Whitedog and Grassy Narrows, and asking that the Commissioner visit those communities:

"Mercury waste discharged into our waterways has had devastating effects on our lives. Life in much of those waterways has been wiped out. Fish became the carriers of deadly poison and our people have suffered the consequences — both physical and social. In a Thunder Bay hospital lies a small boy who was born blind, deformed and retarded. No one knows if he is a victim of mercury poisoning. His family suspects that he is, because his mother was a heavy fish eater when she was carrying him. We do not want to argue whether or not that particular boy is a mercury poisoning victim. But we know that that boy is an example of what a mercury victim looks like. I urge you to visit that boy in Thunder Bay. Only then will you begin to understand the terrible shadow hanging over our communities because of the crippling consequences associated with mercury contamination. At present we are all too familiar with the social consequences of mercury pollution. Our commercial fishing has been outlawed and men have been put out of work. Our jobs as fishing guides have been drastically cut back. Mercury poisoning has ripped apart the social fabric of our communities. You will learn much of this first hand when you visit us at Whitedog and Grassy Narrows, and talk to our people."

(A-MOG, Dryden, p. 423)

¹Amog in Ojibway means "a swarm of stinging bees."

The Commission did visit Whitedog and Grassy Narrows, and held a hearing at Whitedog. There the saga of what mercury pollution has meant to the communities was outlined. The first blow came when, in 1970, commercial fishing was banned on the English-Wabigoon River system. This was a disaster for a people who depend for much of their livelihood on the proceeds from commercial fishing. Apart from this, the mercury contaminated the communities' traditional food source.

What the residents stressed was that fishing was much more than a source of income to them. It was, in fact, a total way of life. In discussing the banning of commercial fishing A-MOG stated that:

"For us this was not simply a loss of economic livelihood. It represented the loss of our lifestyle. For our people, commercial fishing was a way of life. Day in and day out our men placed their nets in traditional

fishing grounds. The catches of pike and walleye were sold to buyers from Kenora. Each day the women would fix the nets for the next day's catch. Family life revolved around commercial fishing year in and year out. Now this is gone."

(A-MOG, Whitedog, p. 2821)

The government's response to mercury pollution troubled many people. Why should there be a ban on commercial fishing yet the river remain open to sport fishermen?

"Why, we ask, are tourist camps operating and guests fishing and consuming fish while Indians sit unemployed due to the provincial ban on commercial fishing? Why had the federal government Department of Health and Welfare advised the Indians in 1975 in letters to each band member — 'The fish in the river system around your reserve still contain high levels of mercury. There is no amount of fish that can be considered safe to eat. You are strongly advised not to eat any local fish at all.' The tourists eat the fish — no warning is given. Yet the province bans commercial fishing and the federal Department of Health advises the Indians not to eat the fish at all."

(Charles Wagamese, Whitedog, p. 2772)

The only warning that sport fishermen received was the "Fish for Fun" posters that were posted along the river system in the summer of 1970. Peter Kelly of Treaty #3 pointed out that:

"My people do not primarily fish for sport or fish for fun. That is why the announcement in 1970 that fish in parts of northwestern Ontario were loaded with mercury, and people should not eat them but only fish for fun, was a cruel joke on the people. Indians fish to live. Only sports fishermen fish solely for fun, as you would in a penny arcade."

(Treaty #3, Kenora, p. 2864)

While the river has officially remained open to tourists some tourist camps have closed down, in recognition of the potential health hazards. Barney Lamm's Ball Lake Lodge was the largest and best equipped in the area and was the major employer of Grassy Narrows people, employing between 120-130 annually. When it closed, the loss of employment, especially in guiding, was substantial. However, those lodges which did remain open presented a tricky situation for those seeking employment. The Grassy Narrows brief explained that:

"Other tourist camp operators stayed in business and continued to employ some of our people. Our guides were, and still are, exposed to mercury poisoning. These guides are pressured to participate in the

eating of the fish caught by the tourists and to hide the mercury pollution as much as possible.¹

(Grassy Narrows Reserve, Whitedog, p. 2791)

¹In April 1978, Whitedog and Grassy Narrows reached an agreement with the Kenora District Campowners Association and the Ontario government under which 50 extra fishing guides would be hired from each reserve. Lodge owners would provide the Indian guides with box lunches.

The news media reporting of the mercury contamination of the English-Wabigoon River system has been a blow to the tourist industry in northwestern Ontario. Many people appeared anxious to avoid any publicity. A Kenora man speaking on behalf of the Northwestern Ontario District Progressive Conservative Youth Association, referred to:

"... the highly publicized and over-exaggerated mercury pollution issue."

(Northwestern Ontario District Progressive Conservative Youth Association, Kenora, p. 2573)

The tourist industry was particularly upset by the bad publicity that the region had received and the Kenora District Campowners Association stated that:

"In general, the tourist industry across northern Ontario, but particularly northwestern Ontario, has been victimized by negative public relations plus the lack of a constructive program to combat this adverse publicity. I am referring to mercury, forest fires, exchange rates, border crossing problems and gas prices. These are bad enough by themselves but when you add political exploitation by politicians during elections, an over-reaction by some media, publicity campaigns by individuals and pressure groups, you can severely hurt and damage the overall tourist programs in the north."

(Kenora District Campowners Association, Kenora, p. 2721)

Perhaps the most outraged attack on the media came from a doctor in Ear Falls who stated that during the last provincial election:

"We heard from such sensationalistic media people as Warner Troyer, Adrienne Clarkson of the Fifth Estate, Soles and Finlayson of Take Thirty, out of Toronto, virtually that the north was synonymous with mercury pollution, Grassy Narrows is a swear word... We heard that a team of Japanese doctors had been invited to research our problems and that evidence of Minimata Disease was on every hand."

(Dr. Harrison Maynard, Ear Falls, p. 825)

Observing that people seemed to have mistaken the town crier as the man responsible for the plague, one journalist responded:

"There is... the suggestion that people who have pointed out the nature of the mercury problem are hurting all of northwest Ontario, penalizing the innocent by giving the area a 'bad name'. It is, sir, the mercury contamination which is the source of the evil tidings, not the reporters of its existence. And the innocent — all of them — would immediately begin to be spared if the government closed the affected waterways to sports fishing. Then anyone wishing to holiday and fish in this area would know, that in any waters on which they were allowed to fish, they were safe from the crippling killer known as Minimata Disease. Of course, sports fishermen who have learned they are not being warned of dangers where they are known to exist will shy away from any associated area."

(Warner Troyer, Kenora, p. 2630)

Many native people shared the view that the total closing of the river to fishing was a major goal:

"First and foremost is our campaign to close the river system. Only if all fishing on the river system is stopped will our people be finally free of the threat of further mercury poisoning. We have carried our campaign to every audience we can think of. We have talked to the federal government, the provincial government, joint committees, the media, and so on. We are met constantly with a passing of responsibility to someone else. No one claims to have the authority to shut the river system down and the willingness to discuss with us whether this should be done."

(A-MOG, Whitedog, p. 2825)

The band councils of the two communities, however, did not call for closure of the river system to sport fishing. They called, instead, for aid from industry and government in rehabilitating those communities:

"In situations where industry, provincial agencies, provincial ministries have a significant role in disrupting any community, that a jointly funded agreement designed to rebuild the social and economic fabric be undertaken... That the province, federal government and industry in question provide employment opportunities and on-the-job training programs as part of each development, for the Indian people in the region."

(Islington Band, Whitedog, p. 2780)

A common theme running through the native people's presentation was their frustration with a government which, they claimed, had refused to accept responsibility or take any action to improve the situation created by mercury contamination:

"The Ontario government has refused to accept responsibility in a meaningful way for social and economic reconstruction at Whitedog. The province has advised the bands that to obtain compensation, they must, on their own, take court action against Reed Ltd."

(Islington Band, Whitedog, p. 2779)

And:

"In discussing the causes and consequences of this disaster, how is it that the two levels of government, provincial and federal, have so successfully managed to pass the buck to each other in an attempt to avoid responsibility?"

(A-MOG, Whitedog, p. 2824)

According to the Islington Band Council, Reed has not been any more willing to accept responsibility than the government:

"Since the early 1970's when the damage of industrial pollution in the English-Wabigoon River system became public knowledge, Reed Ltd. has continued to deny responsibility. On occasion Reed Ltd. has argued that the mercury levels could result from natural mercury sources — a claim which is obviously ludicrous to those with any knowledge of mercury levels. Reed has made no effort to assist Whitedog in any way whatsoever."

(Islington Band, Whitedog, p. 2779)

A-MOG had questions that it felt answers were needed for:

"Why did their use of mercury go on so long, long after everyone was aware of its lethal dangers? . . . How is it that industry can operate without any effective early warning system for environmental pollution?"

(A-MOG, Whitedog, p. 2823)

A Kenora resident, Ted Hall, echoed the same sentiment at the Kenora hearings:

"This was a known pollutant that was swept under the rug and I think if people had been minding their pollution they might have found mercury much sooner."

(Ted Hall, Kenora, p. 2846)

Ed Deibel, leader of the Northern Ontario Heritage Party, also lamented the stupidity of suffering a problem which could have been avoided:

"The total effect of mercury pollution on the native people and the economy of northern Ontario is serious and politically stupid because we have the laws; the laws are not being enforced . . . The poor record of protection of our environment is hindering future development of northern Ontario because a growing number of people in northern Ontario are saying 'We don't want any more pollution', and Your Honour I want to really stress this point, that the poor record of the protecting of our environment is really hindering future development of northern Ontario."

(Northern Ontario Heritage Party, Timmins, p. 1030)

The Commission was told of a number of Indian people who had symptoms that could be caused by mercury poisoning. Yet doctors gave differing explanations and politicians seemed evasive. A-MOG described one possible victim, Matthew Beaver:

"Matthew Beaver of the Grassy Narrows Band registered 350 parts per billion mercury in his blood¹ in November 1975. He had trouble with his speech, cramps in his jaws, numbness in his tongue. His vision was deteriorating. Matthew is 34 years of age. Once a pro hockey prospect. The damage to his nervous system is now obvious. For him, mercury poisoning is an everpresent and tragic way of life."

(A-MOG, Whitedog, p. 2820)

¹The acceptable level of mercury in human blood is 20 parts per billion. Twenty to 100 parts per billion indicates increasing risk. Over 100 parts per billion indicates a person at risk.

A-MOG presented evidence from Dr. John Pritchard of the University of Toronto and the Hospital for Sick Children which came from his latest report on Health and Welfare Canada. In it he stated that Matthew Beaver's tremor was likely caused by methyl mercury, the likelihood being two on a scale of zero to three.

(A-MOG, Whitedog, p. 2834)

Perhaps most frightening for the members of the two bands is the possibility of congenital mercury poisoning, whereby an unborn child can develop mercury poisoning from mercury in the mother's circulatory system. The child mentioned earlier by A-MOG is thought to be a victim of congenital mercury poisoning. His father, Marcel Pahpasay, spoke to the Commission through a translator:

"He (Pahpasay) had asked the doctors what exactly was it that happened to his child and he was given several and different explanations. At one point he was told that this was a result of fish contamination; secondly, he was told by a doctor in Thunder Bay that it was a result of alcohol; and then . . . by a doctor in Grassy Narrows, he was told that it was a disease which could not be exactly diagnosed."

(Marcel Pahpasay, Whitedog, p. 2812)

While the band members seem convinced that Marcel Pahpasay's son is a victim of congenital mercury poisoning, authorities have not acknowledged the case as such. Warner Troyer discussed his opinions as to the Ontario government's treatment of the situation:

"When a possible case of congenital Minamata Disease was located in March 1976, for example, and we've just seen a video-tape report of that case, Dr. Bett Stephenson, then acting Health Minister, told Queen's Park reporters that description of the boy as a possible victim of congenital Minamata Disease was irresponsible since, first, he had a very low mercury blood level

at age five, and, second, he was a victim of cerebral palsy. The Hon. Minister, a former president of the Canadian Medical Association, failed to add that: a) the child had been institutionalized for more than two years so that, having eaten no contaminated fish during that time, any high blood levels at birth or before would long since have disappeared; or, b) that 'cerebral palsy' is a grab-bag medical description for any brain damage occurring shortly before or after birth, — a precise though simplified description of congenital Minimata Disease."

(Warner Troyer, Kenora, p. 2618)

Dr. Brian Russell, in charge of newborn service at the Lake of the Woods District Hospital, has been doing tests of mercury levels in newborn infants. He stated that:

"In the three years that I have been involved with the study at the Lake of the Woods District Hospital, I can safely say that yes, there is too much methyl mercury, but I have yet to see and yet to have presented to me a definite case of congenital Minimata poisoning . . . I still feel the potential threat is there but I, as yet, am not prepared to acknowledge that there is definite poisoning."

(Dr. Brian Russell, Kenora, p. 2700)

Nevertheless, the native people are not satisfied that mercury poisoning is not a reality in their communities; and neither is Warner Troyer. He attacked the stance taken by Dr. Bette Stephenson, the Hon. George Kerr, the Hon. John Munro and the Hon. Leo Bernier, saying:

"I might refer all of them to Dr. Dennis Wheatley, the man in charge of the Ottawa health department (federal Department of Health) efforts in this field for the past five years, who stated publicly and for the record, last May, that in his view there was no longer any question about the definite presence of Minimata Disease among Indians at Whitedog and Grassy Narrows."

(Warner Troyer, Kenora, p. 2622)

People felt that the truth was being kept from them:

"How is it that the medical testing to which we are subjected time and time again is conducted without consultation with us and without any release to us of the data which is gathered?"

(A-MOG, Whitedog, p. 2824)

Frustration was widespread:

"The federal and provincial governments have consistently attempted to belittle our mercury problems to the public. They have ignored their own reports which say the poisoned river should be closed down; they've ignored the testimony of experts that state mercury has bludgeoned the social, economic and physical health of my people."

(A-MOG, Whitedog, p. 2835)

From A-MOG came the most impassioned plea that the issue be faced:

"Our story will not always be pleasant. Most of it is tragic. It may not bring people together. However, we urge you, Mr. Commissioner, not to turn away from our story for this reason. Deeply felt divisions exist in the north today. For your Commission to hear about these divisions and the facts on which they are based will not make these divisions worse. Equally, if your Commission were to disband tomorrow these divisions would not go away. Unpleasant truths must be faced. To ignore them is to delude ourselves and everyone else. Only by a full comprehension of these divisions and the facts on which they are based can understanding and perhaps even accommodation begin. The divisions in the north, indeed the divisions relating to mercury are sharp and even bitter. We wish to face these divisions honestly and openly."

(A-MOG, Whitedog, p. 2833)





High Costs—A Disincentive to Living in the North

Remoteness from major supply centres and the severity and length of winter continue to be the major factors in boosting the prices of nearly all commodities needed in the north. It costs more to heat your house, drive your car or snowmobile and buy your food in northern Ontario. Northerners recommended that the provincial government consider tax policies and action to help offset some of these costs.

A Conundrum: Lower Incomes—Higher Costs

Northerners maintain that most disadvantages that accompany living in the north are more than offset by the benefits of residing in a beautiful, soul-satisfying part of the province. To most, the price of remoteness, however, can be too costly, and northerners addressing the Commission were adamant that the provincial government should work to correct the imbalance. It should be possible for the provincial government, they told the Royal Commission, to set policies in motion to help correct some of the financial disadvantages of living in the outlying settlements of northern Ontario.

Contrasting the high and rising cost of living against the depressed earning base of their communities was an issue of paramount concern to northerners. It was explained that prices, in fact, reflected not only the steep cost of bringing goods from supply centres in the south but also the disadvantages of small bulk purchasing for far-scattered communities.

Northerners maintained that goods cost them more chiefly because transportation costs are higher per kilometer than in the south. They also recognized that transportation costs continue to climb as fuel prices generally increase.

Most speakers agreed that a key factor elevating the cost of living in the north was the small size of the region's population and its dispersal over such a vast area. Northerners conceded that with a head count of some 30,000 (equivalent to a medium-size town) spread across 214,000 square miles (larger than many countries), distribution of goods becomes difficult and expensive.

The few attempts made by government to help redress the economic imbalance, e.g., charging less for provincial vehicle licences, were viewed as inadequate. Many said that they would prefer to pay southern rates for licences if they could enjoy the lower southern rates for gasoline. A particular irritant to northerners was the fact that alcohol prices, set by the provincial liquor board, were identical throughout the province, yet fuel prices were not.

The availability and price of commodities in northern Ontario were a matter of concern for all residents. Groceries, transportation, recreation — all cost far more than they do in the south. It is not uncommon for people visiting in southern Ontario to compare prices and to stock up on staple goods to take back north with them, everything from denture cleansers to machine parts. Some northerners spoke of the danger of rising costs and lower and disappearing incomes to the social fabric of northern communities. The Commission was asked whether infusion of new industrial development could help stave off such dangers, and what part government could play in reducing the additional financial burden borne by northerners.

"Equalizers" Advocated to Help Bridge Disparities

The high financial cost of living in the north reflects in part the severity of the climate and length of the winter (more heating fuel is needed for a longer period of the year), and great distances (more gasoline, diesel and aircraft fuel is needed to transport people and goods), and the sparse scattered populations (markets are reduced):

"Well, you know the cost of living up here is expensive, and we have different conditions up here and it's a hell of a lot colder, conditions are grimmer than down south and as a small businessman, I would think that it costs perhaps a third to half more to operate a small business. You take for instance, we have no facilities for parts, if you have even a minor breakdown, so you need a \$5.00 part and our best place is either Winnipeg or Thunder Bay and we have to get that in by airplane so that \$5.00 part right off the bat costs us \$8.00 for freight."

(Stan Werbiski, Pickle Lake, p. 1743)

The most common complaint heard was in regard to the price of gasoline as compared with other areas:

"The price of gas around here is a ripoff. Some people pay 70¢ a gallon to run their cars while we pay \$1.05 to \$1.10 or more. An investigation of energy prices should be carried out."

(Doreen Heinrichs and Dana Robbins, Red Lake, p. 527)

Part of the reason for the high cost of fuel was felt to be directly attributable to government inattention to the needs of the north. The Commission was told in Red Lake:

"We here in Red Lake — 310 miles by road from the Winnipeg refineries — pay the highest rates for gasoline and heating oil in the province . . . Our government . . . allows the oil companies to shaft us by pricing the products . . . at the Sarnia price plus freight from Sarnia to Red Lake — 1300 miles . . . Here in the north we have to subsidize the price paid by our counterparts in southern Ontario and Quebec."

(J. Edwin Fahlgren, Red Lake, p. 633)

Complaints were voiced about the high price of food, enhanced by transportation costs:

"A survey conducted in 1975 in conjunction with a CBC program, Market Place, revealed that food prices in Geraldton ranked third highest in Canada, outdone only by Newfoundland and communities much farther north. A distinction in which the residents do not take pride. Transportation costs are responsible for these higher prices."

(John Evans, Geraldton, p. 1433)

An unwanted corollary of high costs is the sales tax multiplier, i.e., northerners not only pay an increased price for goods but must also pay sales tax on that increase:

"We are paying more sales tax because of the price of the freight and the price of the article we are buying. You pay the sales tax on that so we are really getting ripped off."

(Stan Werbiski, Pickle Lake, p. 1744)

The prices paid in the larger northern communities are higher than those paid in the south, but this discrepancy pales when one contrasts it with the extreme costs incurred by native people in the more remote northerly portions of the area:

"Last week advertised in a Cochrane paper, one bag of 50 pounds of potatoes was \$2.55. At the same week here in Moosonee it was \$11.75 and the gasoline here was \$1.10 a gallon. At Fort Albany it's \$3.00 a gallon. As you go up to Winisk it's \$5.00 a gallon and the wages are lower as the prices are going up."

(Joe Linklater, Moosonee, p. 3214)

"I made a survey before I came down and the price of flour there (Armstrong) is \$5.49 for what we called a 3 or 4 pound bag in the old days, and I don't know what they call it on the new metric system. And to ship two bags of these would be \$11.00 and shipping by rail would be \$13.00 in addition to your \$11.00 so it is a pretty high rate for them to pay."

(Armstrong Metis Association, Sioux Lookout, p. 296)

"I have a gas lamp at home, a 300 candle power lamp and I'm paying \$5.28 for a gallon of Coleman fuel which will last about three days. I feel sorry for the white people at Armstrong who have electric power who are crying because they are paying 6-1/4¢ for the electric power."

(Armstrong Metis Association, Sioux Lookout, p. 293)

Isolation and distance from markets mean that not only do the goods cost more, but it is exceedingly difficult and expensive to get to those goods:

"We (Muskrat Dam) do not have a store that can cater to most of our needs and most of our shopping is done in Round Lake (Weagomow Lake) which is 37 miles south. To be able to shop in Weagomow Lake we have to charter a Cessna which is based in Weagomow Lake and it costs the shopper \$70.00 for plane charter only."

(Chief Arthur Beardy, Osnaburgh, p. 1847)

And costs continue to rise:

"Mr. Commissioner, for example, three years ago transportation on a charter basis was \$536.00 from Timmins to Kapuskasing Lake, a distance of 140 miles. A year after, meaning two years from last year, White River Air Services bought out Austin Airways. Prices went up to \$956.00 for one trip. Last year the price . . . was \$1,076.00 one trip."

(Sinclair Cheechoo, Moose Factory, p. 3343)

Both native and non-native groups look to the government to help reduce prices through subsidization or tax relief. If the government can equalize prices for alcohol, surely it can do the same for more important products such as fuel, went the argument:

"Why can't a government that can equalize the price of a case of beer or a bottle of booze across the province do the same thing for gasoline and fuel oil?"

(Don McKelvie, Pickle Lake, p. 1637)

Clearly, people of the north pay more for goods and services than people of the south. Several methods of assistance were recommended:

"In recognition of the disparity of the cost of living special assistance should be considered for those who settle in the north. Costs of goods and services in the early development stage will be extremely high. Transportation and high labour costs also preclude the building of homes by individuals. Cost of food and services for those who live in the north will be much higher than for those in the south. Also the quality of such services will be markedly lower. Recognition should be given to such conditions and relief afforded to those who live there. This assistance could be rendered by a variety of methods; examples would be income tax deductions and partial or complete exemption from sales tax or licencing requirements."

(Griffith Mine, Red Lake, p. 687)

Government subsidization to reduce high transportation costs, they feel, would also prove beneficial:

"We, the Chiefs of James Bay, request . . . that the present transportation subsidy programs be reviewed, with the objective of having a standard price of goods and services in northern communities regardless of geographical location . . . that due to the precedents established by the present subsidy programs involving the Toronto Transit Commission, Air Canada, and the Canadian National Railway, we request that this Inquiry recommend to the federal-provincial governments to assist transportation in the north in a similar manner."

(James Bay Chiefs, Moose Factory, p. 3238)



The northeastern Ontario Municipalities Action Group felt that present government assistance has fallen short:

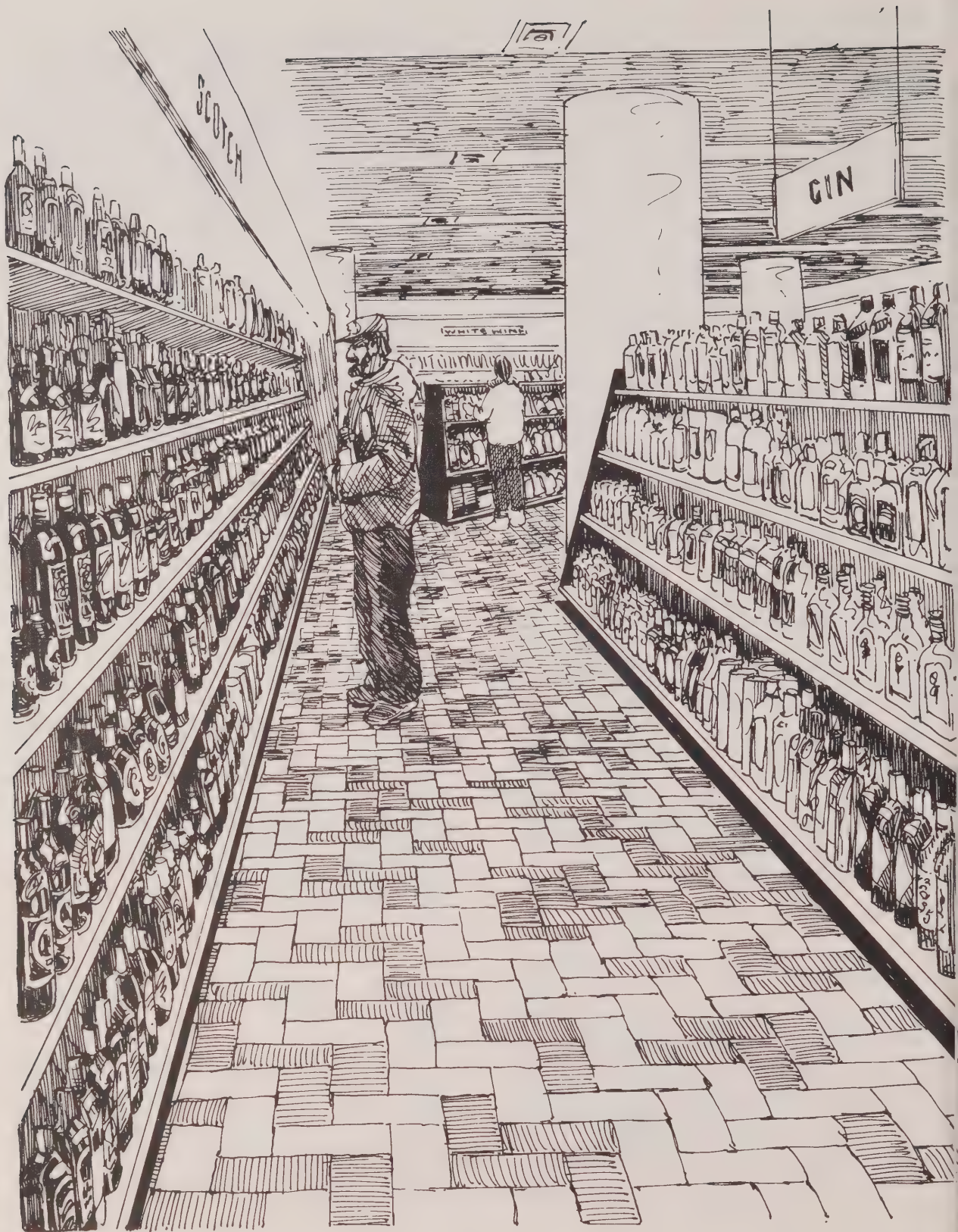
"The Ontario government has recognized the problem of added living costs in the north, which includes the higher costs of transportation and the added provincial sales tax on those additional transportation costs, with the advent of the Northern Ontario Support Grant in 1973, to return some of these added costs in lower municipal taxes. The support grant commenced at 10% of net levy and has progressively increased to 18%. We have seen calculations where the support grant, in actual fact, only covers about one-third of the actual disbenefits of northern living costs . . . We suggest that there should be a fixed relationship between northern costs and the support grant and, that on some type of upgrading formula, that grant should systematically, regardless of the status of the provincial budget, be increased to reach its true level."

(Northeastern Ontario Municipalities Action Group, brief submitted to the R.C.N.E., p. 16)

Northerners recognize that reality dictates higher prices. But they also feel that government can do more for them:

"We accept that there are certain disadvantages to living in this area of the world, and those who do not accept those disadvantages are simply exercising their freedom or right to complain. It is our isolation that helps to drive the price of many things up, and the goods we have to buy, and that quite frequently is something that governments cannot do a great deal about, but they do have an obligation to see that we are not subjected to rip-offs."

(Town of Geraldton, Geraldton, p. 1337)



Alcoholism—A Particular Scourge in the North

In representations to the Commission, alcohol abuse was cited, by both native and non-native northerners, as a distressing problem, difficult to resolve. In resource industry towns, it was asserted that white people turn to alcohol to ease the pain of isolation and the lack of social and intellectual diversions. In the case of native people, the Commission was told many turn to alcohol to dull the confusion and despair of being caught between two worlds. Broken families, illness, violent deaths are often the result.

Alcohol—The Great Disabler

Alcohol was an item and factor in commerce between natives and non-natives since the first days of the fur trade. Its mood-altering capacity was often used to disorient the Indians and to obtain furs from them for a depressed price. But alcohol abuse did not end with the decline of the fur trade.

In the 1950's, native people gained legal access to alcohol. Before 1951, Ontario's laws prohibited the sale of alcoholic beverages to Indians. Following World War II, veterans of Indian decent began questioning why they had been considered good enough to fight for their country yet not able to drink liquor the same as other veterans. The resultant change from interdict to complete freedom was too much for many native people. Addiction, violence, deaths, illness, martial discord and abandoned children became the tragic results of alcohol abuse.

Such tragedies, of course, were also experienced by non-Indian families whose members were affected by excessive alcohol consumption.

When small settlements with few social amenities mushroomed to house the employees of rapidly expanding logging and mining enterprises, the main, if not only, social gatherings were for drinking, mostly in taverns. That is still the way of the north. Very few communities have such facilities as movie theatres or bowling alleys. The primary place for social diversion and companionship is in the local bar.

Alcohol addiction is, of course, a universal tragedy. To the alcoholic, this dependency means days and nights of torment trying to remember what happened the day before, what day it is now. It means looking at one's wife and wondering where she got the black eye. Watching one's children turn their eyes away in shame. Living with an unbearable guilt that sends one right back to the bottle.

The Commission was told that afflicted northerners are seeking a way out of this downward spiral. An increasing number of men and women are turning to self-help groups to combat the loneliness and isolation they feel.

Native people spoke of combining the Alcoholics Anonymous philosophy with their traditional beliefs in order to gain strength from the Great Spirit. Yet improvements in living conditions and social amenities are probably the factors most likely to reduce unacceptably high levels of alcoholism in the north.

Alcoholic Haze Clouds Much of Life for Many

Use and abuse of alcohol, the most commonly known and ingested mood-altering drug, is increasing in all parts of the province, but particularly in northwestern Ontario. From 1969 to 1974, alcohol consumption was 50% higher in the District of Kenora than in the rest of the province.

(Addiction Research Foundation, Kenora, p. 2927)

Most of the references to liquor consumption made at the hearings linked alcoholism with native people; but it is a non-native problem as well. The written submission of the Addiction Research Foundation (ARF) stated:

"While there is no denying that the public order and health problems related to heavy consumption are more obvious among members of the native than among the non-native population, the statistics at least suggest that heavy consumption is generally tolerated in the northwest. Furthermore, the native people constitute too small a group to explain the overall excess of the alcohol consumption and related damage in the northwest over the rest of the province."

(Addiction Research Foundation, brief submitted to the R.C.N.E., p. 12)

Excessive alcohol has well-documented adverse effects on the individual who ingests it. The most far-reaching deleterious effects, however, are on the family and social fabric. Instances are countless of people who become drunk, get into fights, beat their spouses or children, fall asleep in a snowbank, forget to tend a fire, swamp a boat, spend the welfare and family allowance cheques on booze, leave their children unattended, steal or damage property. In an alcoholic daze, people can and often do behave in an irrational and irresponsible manner.

Children, almost totally dependent on their parents, are particularly susceptible to the harmful social consequences of drug abuse. In the harsher climate and living conditions of the north, this is especially so:

"A nine-day-old child is brought to the nursing station dead — cause of death listed as 'neglect'; a toddler falls out of bed and freezes to death while his parents sit in the bar; a ten-year-old hobbles along on crippled legs due to chronic gasoline sniffing; a 15-year-old boy comes close to death by freezing when left drunk outside a cabin after a fight; A 16-year-old girl is beaten to death by her drunk boyfriend."

(Family and Children's Services of the District of Kenora, Osnaburgh, p. 1937)

Not all alcohol abuse leads to physical harm or death. However, the mental and social effects on families, and children in particular, are severe. Children may have to be taken to a safer place away from the harm that alcoholic parents might inflict upon them.

Removal from home to an alien place, with strange people with different customs and an unknown language, can be traumatic. For a child to whom parents, are no matter how neglectful or abusive, are still mother and father, such a dislocation can leave scars that last a lifetime.

Enforced removal of a child from his home occurs in all communities but the extent is much greater in the north:

"In New Osnaburgh this year we have to care for ten per cent of all the children living here. In all but four of these 33 cases, the abuse of alcohol was directly related to the need to remove the child from his home."

(Family and Children's Services of the District of Kenora, Osnaburgh, p. 1937)

Violent deaths are a disturbing concomitant of alcohol abuse. Dr. Gary Goldthorpe told the Commission in Sioux Lookout:

"Over a third of the deaths in Sioux Lookout Zone each year are violent. By violent I mean largely accidental. For a six-year period there were 164 deaths of treaty Indian people by violence. The commonest single cause was drowning, with 49 deaths by drowning in a six-year period. The next commonest was burns, namely house fires, 25 deaths. The next commonest was exposure, that is freezing to death, 24 deaths. The next commonest was motor vehicle accidents, 13 deaths. And the next to that at 13 was homicide. There were ten suicides, eight accidental deaths by train (being hit by a train), firearms (accidental, four deaths), and falls were four, adding up to 164. Most of those deaths have been alcohol related or alcohol associated . . . Every accidental death I do an investigation to see if drinking was involved, and it is the case in well over half."

(Sioux Lookout Zone Hospital, Sioux Lookout, p. 264)

These statistics are strikingly higher than provincial averages:

"Approximately 25% of the deaths in the Kenora District are accidental or violent in nature, compared to about 9% in other parts of Ontario. Moreover, the majority of these deaths occur amongst those under 35 years of age — and most of these before they reach the age of 20 . . . Many, if not most, of these deaths involved the use of alcohol."

(Addiction Research Foundation, Kenora, p. 2928)

Some people, both native and non-native, perceived alcohol abuse as a consequence of cultural disintegration. Chief Andrew Rickard said:

"Our traditions, stifled within this foreign system could no longer guide us or support us, and we gradually sank into a pool of despair: a despair that led to alcoholism, violence and the numbing apathy that characterizes a colonized and dependent people."

(Treaty # 9, Sioux Lookout, p. 80)

Sister Simone Lefebvre, a missionary working with the people of Whitedog and Grassy Narrows, concurred in this view of alcohol as "effect" rather than "cause", a "symptom" of the damage that has been done to the native culture:

"Alcohol and drugs are not, in my opinion, the number one problems; these are but crutches. Their problems are much more deep-seated. Many have lost hope, have lost the meaning of their God-given lives. Just this week at Whitedog, we returned to our Creator and to Mother Earth, a beautiful young girl of 18 and, again, at Grassy Narrows another child of 14 is awaiting burial. Is this not enough to make us sit up and think and act? Our Ojibway brothers and sisters belong to a proud race. They are loving, generous, independent and they do not want hand-outs. They are concerned about their future and that of their children and they are looking to us for help in finding just solutions to their problems."

(Sister Simone Lefebvre, Whitedog, p. 2815)

The proximity of Indian communities to white settlements seems to have increased cultural disintegration and the consumption of alcohol. Isolation from white society seems to protect a native community from social and family breakdown:

"Since the new . . . road into the reserve . . . more white people have come bringing alcohol to our people. Our people hardly ever drank before. Our homes were happy and our families worked and played together. Now, with the white man's alcohol, we find beer and wine bottles all along the side of the road and in our yards."

(Mattagami Reserve Junior Band Council, Timmins, p. 1104)

Such experiences raise concerns about the expansion of development into previously isolated areas, particularly by the people in those communities which will be affected:

"When we look at the developed areas below the 50th parallel, we can see the problems the natives are having with alcohol. So what will happen if Reed Paper

project or Polar Gas pipeline or Hydro dams come into our area? We know that there will be jobs for the white people, who will in turn bring their liquor with them. They will no doubt give the natives a shot. Their shot will in turn cause family problems, beatings, and mischief, and the community as a whole will suffer. The uniqueness of alcohol is that if one uses it, everybody suffers directly or indirectly."

(Sandy Lake Council on Alcohol and Drug Abuse, Sandy Lake, p. 2468)

The Lake of the Woods Pow-Wow Club, in detailing the despair of their people in the Kenora area, spoke about their brothers in the north in the Treaty # 9 area who still have enough control over their lives and communities to ban the bringing in of alcohol to their communities:

"What will happen to our brothers if this so-called 'development' takes place up there and others make decisions for them? We know what will happen. Liquor will flow and there will be no way of stopping it. Can it in truth be called 'development' when the conditions of life are worsened rather than bettered for the majority of those who live in the area immediately surrounding?"

(Lake of the Woods Pow-Wow Club, Kenora, p. 2537)

Another problem of drug addiction is that of gasoline and glue sniffing by young people.

"The parents turn their earnings into liquor. The children sniff glue and gas, following their parents' example."

(Pikangikum Band, Sandy Lake, p. 2450)

"Out of boredom and in their desperation, children are resorting to the pastime of gasoline sniffing in epidemic proportions. There are documented cases ofcrippings and even deaths due to this activity. Gasoline sniffing is just what glue sniffing used to be in the Toronto area."

(Family and Children's Services of the District of Kenora, Osnaburgh, p. 1938)

Several recommendations were made as to how to deal with such problems. The most forceful was prohibition. A native liaison worker at Pickle Lake said:

"Osnaburgh, year after year, has been forcibly placed on the interdicted list by their chief, who is anxious to protect them from the abuses which have resulted from excessive drinking."

(Henry Munro, Pickle Lake, p. 1756)

A woman elder from Osnaburgh had the same answer when she said:

"One of the strongest recommendations which must not be overlooked by the Commission, is that the banning of all forms of alcohol be done throughout the area and it would include all native people . . . I would say for those people who are members of the Osnaburgh Band, I would imagine that I have angered them by suggesting that all alcohol be banned to all native people, because I realize that a lot of them drink."

(Maria Kwandibens, Osnaburgh, p. 1946)

A high school principal in Geraldton recommended:

"Any industrial development north of 50 should be accompanied by a government strategy that enables personal and social growth and development hinged on alternatives and activities not contingent with alcohol use."

(A. Korkola, Geraldton, p. 1270)

ARF officers pointed out that increased consumption of alcohol generally leads to increased abuse, and the main thrust for control of the problem seems to be an effort to decrease consumption. They suggested:

"developing a pricing policy which would keep the price of alcohol at a fixed level in relation to income, controlling the number of liquor and beer outlets, enforcing the laws relating to sale to minors and intoxicated persons and sale by bootleggers, intensive education programs, research teams to monitor areas where development is contemplated, and involvement of local communities as to sale, educational programs and care for problem drinkers."

(Addiction Research Foundation, Kenora, p. 2925)

The Sandy Lake Council on Alcohol and Drug Abuse set, as its goals, community education regarding the results of alcohol and drug abuse, alternative solutions, and development of local rehabilitative efforts to regain and maintain pride and dignity as people. It plans to meet these goals through school, community and family educational sessions, seeking out local leadership, providing local counsellors to those individuals or families experiencing problems with gasoline sniffing, and developing a local rehabilitation centre to be staffed by trained workers:

"What I am saying, Mr. Commissioner, is that we don't want anybody to die here because of alcohol. We have been lucky this far, and we have not had a fatal accident in direct relationship to alcohol. We are going to need all the help we can get in order to keep it that way."

((Sandy Lake Council on Alcohol and Drug Abuse, Sandy Lake, p. 2468)

These problems and recommendations were put forward to deal with the overwhelming social problems connected with alcohol and the underlying despair:

"I feel it is the occurrence of these sudden deaths or related injuries which perpetuate the cycle of welfare, depression, family breakdown, child neglect and alcohol problems which beset so many area residents . . . The loss of a close family member, provider, friend or neighbour goes beyond the personal remorse that death and injury always brings to us. When sudden death becomes as frequent as it is here, I think it has a great deal of effect on peoples' minds. A fatalistic outlook — and a degree of hopelessness — seem at times to overcome the efforts of those who attempt to confront community problems. If we are to cope with the future, the most essential element we need to preserve is our hope."

(Addiction Research Foundation, Kenora, p. 2929)



Women in the North Seek Justice

At almost every one of its hearings, the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment heard from women how, in the past, they had been excluded from development discussions and planning and yet had to bear the full after-effects of resource exhaustion and social breakdown. Women spoke up for themselves, for more jobs and training opportunities, for daycare, for supportive health and social services, and for a role in the planning of any future developments in the north. Their basic concerns were similar to those of women in other parts of the country who seek equal rights for women. Only their experiences in a more limited occupational and social milieu revealed the greater hardships and barriers to equality of opportunity for women in the north.

Recognition of Women in North Overdue

What the Commission learned from women in the north was certainly opposite to the romantic image created in popular fiction. Many southern artists in the past have pictured the native woman with a tumpline on her forehead, carrying a pack or tikinagan with child or leading a portage through the bush country. In this same type of romantic reportage the pioneer white woman has been pictured as a helpmate, working side by side with her man, building the log cabin, growing, gathering and preserving the fruits and vegetables of the earth.

In fact, the Commission learned that traditionally, it would be left to native women to break camp, move family and belongings and set up another home, following the seasonal pursuits of hunting, trapping, fishing and gathering. Trapping, has often been a male-female team effort among native people, with women helping to set traps and retrieve the catch, and invariably scraping the furs, and tanning the hides. Today in the north, trapping, commercial fishing and wild rice harvesting are usually partnership efforts for men and women.

At the turn of the century, white women came to live in the north in some numbers during the second phase of "civilizing" the country, the period after the wilderness had been mapped. Traders' wives, missionaries, teachers — they all contributed to life in the north. Later came the miners' wives, the bull cooks working in lumber camps and the women of easy virtue in mining boom towns. For women, the north meant adapting themselves to a rough and narrow lifestyle created and dominated by men. It was not a comfortable life nor a familiar one.

When non-native women first arrived in the north, they found no equivalents to the community social and cultural organizations they had known in the areas from which they came. Institutions similar to those to which these women were accustomed all had to be established: churches, schools, activity clubs. The

Commission was told that it was women, in the main, who founded the present-day socio-cultural structures in the north and promoted the feeling of a regional identity and pride in the towns of northern Ontario.

While there was some contact between native and white women over the years, close friendships were unusual. The segregations of the past stemmed from differences of language, culture, status and race. This division still exists to a considerable extent today in northern towns; i.e., white people live in town, native people mainly in shanties on the outskirts or on reserves; shared use of the towns is only for shopping, medical services and commercial entertainment.

In recent years, some younger women of both cultures have been learning to recognize feelings and life experiences they share in common, goals which can bring them together as women. In this spirit, they are reportedly talking with each other more openly, in friendly, neighbourly ways and joining in alliances to improve their status.

Representatives of these women appeared before the Royal Commission and centred their views on one point above all: women wish to be included in all social, cultural and economic decisions to be made for the future of their communities.



Northern Women See Themselves Particularly Disadvantaged

Issues raised by women in the north were basically similar to those voiced by their sisters in the south. They need facilities for pre-school children to allow mothers freedom to seek employment or pursue cultural interests. They want interval houses to allow them protection from beatings and abuse. They want job opportunities to give them greater economic independence and to allow them a greater say in the development of the area.

The problems northern women share with their southern sisters are compounded by the realities of living in a remote northern community. Isolation, inadequate housing, lack of cultural and recreational facilities and a shortage of activities and occupations outside the home all serve to make life harder for a woman in the north:

"Fear, isolation, lack of financial resources, transportation, lack of child care, are all factors that make living in the north a very difficult place for women to grow and participate as citizens of Ontario."

(Northwestern Ontario International Women's Decade Co-ordinating Council, Nakina, p. 1556)

who are heads of families. Costs of daycare, when and if they are available, are not affordable by women who are single parents."

(Northwestern Ontario International Women's Decade Co-ordinating Council, Nakina, p. 1553)

With few opportunities for employment outside the home, a northern woman is restricted to her home and family. Concern was expressed about:

"... the alarming increase of mental illness of young women attributed to the never-ending stress associated with the caring for small children in cramped company housing, trailers, or mobile homes."

(Northwestern Ontario International Women's Decade Co-ordinating Council, Nakina, p. 1552)

Not only women experience the psychological strain of isolated northern communities. Men too suffer the tension in an unstable way of life. Tragically, the victims of their frustrations are often their wives and children:

"The isolation, frustrations and other problems related to day to day living in single industry towns appears to increase the frequency of wife and child abuse. The top priority expressed by women in the communities we visited was the desperate need for crisis or interval housing. Small communities lack even minimal social support services. It is not uncommon for the physically abused women with children to wander about the streets on cold winter nights looking for a place to sleep. A crisis home would provide much needed shelter to administer to the physical, emotional, and the material needs of women in temporary crisis situations."

(Northwestern Ontario International Women's Decade Co-ordinating Council, Nakina, p. 1553)

An almost total absence of paid employment opportunities for women characterized a number of communities visited by the Commission. One reason for this lack, the Commission was told, was the dependence, typical in the north, of an entire community on a single employer, generally a resource extraction industry:

"In single industry communities... the majority of jobs will be male oriented and the traditional female employment opportunities will not be as prevalent as in a more diversified southern community."

(Timmins Women's Resource Centre, Timmins, p. 2350)

There is a:

"Lack of employment opportunities, not only in the one and only primary work force associated with resource development, but also lack of employment opportunities in support services necessary to the community. The few jobs available for women are in the low paid clerical, sales, or service-oriented work, usually on a part-time basis with denial of employee benefits. Jobs men will not do! Women often seek these jobs out of both social and economic desperation. The notable lack of equal employment opportunity programs and equitable hiring practices discriminate against women in single industry resource communities."

(Northwestern Ontario International Women's Decade Co-ordinating Council, Nakina, p. 1552)

The stresses of women living in isolation are compounded for those who come to the north later in life, perhaps following a husband who has found employment:

"Those of us born here are accustomed to the conditions. We value our environment, our independence, self-reliance and pace of life while recognizing mutual dependency in times of emergency. To newcomers, the harsh and brutal weather conditions can be debilitating; inadequate housing or crowded trailer parks demoralizing; the absence of medical services close at hand frightening; and recreational and educational facilities, virtually non-existent for women, depressing. Soon cabin fever, confusion about the so-called frontier mentality, isolation and loneliness replace the romantic expectations of 'living up north'. Those of us born here have never really questioned the vast distances which separate us from not only services, entertainment, etc., but also from each other."

(Kenora Women's Coalition, Kenora, p. 2710)

In part, because there are few jobs for women, daycare services and facilities are inadequate and costly; and without daycare facilities, the few jobs available for women are further out of reach:

"This is a particularly distressful situation for women

Many were concerned that expansion and new developments would cause further problems. An influx of workers, both single and married, imposes a burden on a community which may not be able to support it. Once again, those who suffer most tend to be women and children:

"The social impact of (development) will affect all members of the community, but it may have a particular effect on women, their children, their homes and their community. Aggravated housing problems, the pressures of over-crowding and the deterioration in the supply of public utilities such as electricity and water, and in communications, would fall mainly on women who, during the long northern winters are often alone at home."

(Kenora-Rainy River District Health Council, Kenora, p. 2943)

Native women, in particular, feel the negative impacts of development. Sometimes, an isolated native community is forced to absorb an influx of people without any preparation or assistance:

"Native people placed in this new situation must make enormous attempts to adjust and accommodate the new arrivals . . . This new transplant upon this community will, and has, confused the values and way of life of native people . . . By uprooting the basic fabric of a community, the consequences resulting from it causes social deterioration . . . The incidence of alcoholism among native women is becoming increasingly high. Social structure within a family and community is not stable."

(Ontario Native Women's Association, Geraldton, p. 1320)

The Commission was reminded that development, with its influx of transient workers, creates other problems for native women:

"We are concerned about the sexual exploitation of our native women, through the availability of alcohol and our communities being close to the camps: the evidence of violent attacks on women, rape, illegitimate pregnancies, unwanted children, prostitution and venereal diseases will rise beyond a social problem."

(Ontario Native Women's Association, Geraldton, p. 1323)

Generally, the women of the north, both native and non-native, recognized that industrial activities of some sort are inevitable. Consequently, they were determined that future undertakings not bring with them problems comparable to those experienced in past developments:

"Traditionally, economic development in northern single industry and resource based communities has not included the experience, knowledge, concerns and interests of women. This has resulted in male-oriented communities at all levels, economically, socially, and politically. The needs of women and children have been given only marginal recognition."

(Kenora Women's Coalition, Kenora, p. 2710)

From their submissions to the Royal Commission, it was clear that northern women want the opportunity to be involved in decision-making, to help determine the future of the communities in which they live and to secure equal rights for their sex:

"... women . . . have not only the right but the obligation to be represented in all aspects of the economic and social development of the north. Looking at development from a woman's perspective is essential, for it is the women who live in these communities who are most affected by the developmental decisions which are made by men."

(Northwestern Ontario International Women's Decade Co-ordinating Council, Nakina, p. 1554)



Discrimination and Inequality of Opportunity

The Ontario Human Rights Commission, labour unions and churches added their voices to those of native people in demanding an end to discriminatory hiring practices and to insensitive educational and training barriers which prevent native people from enjoying the opportunities available to other Ontarians. Various representatives called for recognition, each on its own merit and strength, of both native and non-native cultures in northern Ontario. All urged co-operation in helping overcome the unresolved hostility which has already erupted into violence in past encounters.

Prejudice — A Black Eye in the North

The suffering of native people from racial discrimination was outlined in considerable detail before the Royal Commission. Acts of prejudice, given as examples, ranged from documented physical abuse to social insensitivity to people's feelings, from housing neglect to job lack, from indifferent service in hotels and stores to negative or no response from government offices.

Part of the problem, the Commission was told, lies in the fragile nature of the northern economy which supports only a narrow spectrum of jobs, nearly all reliant on outside resource demand and most heavily dependent on transient labour. This environment also determines that development be based on the large-scale extraction of natural resources which often precludes alternate uses of the land.

In determining land uses, trade-offs must be made. In the past, those who initially lost out in economic terms have been the native people living off the land.

In time, often in less than 30 years from the start of a development project, non-native as well as native workers have found themselves disadvantaged. This occurrence is predictable at the point of exhaustion of an industry's resource base. Seriously affected are those workers and their families who have invested their working lives in building a community whose economic future is necessarily limited. Their dream of a gainful future evaporates.

Tension resulting from a collapsed economy can lead directly to the stir and spread of racism. The concept of "work" in Canadian society owes its definition to non-natives. It means trading labour for wages. By contrast, the Indian's way of survival (living off the land according to the seasons) is generally not viewed as "gainful" except by those few non-Indian northerners who also live this way, such as white commercial fishermen and trappers.

Addressing the Commission, native spokesmen maintained that non-Indian people, particularly those who live in communities some distance away and apart from reserve life, generally do not hold Indian people in high regard. White people, they claim, do not see Indians engaged in their native enterprises.

Instead, the Commission was told, townspeople in the north tend to judge all Indians by the few derelicts they encounter on their urban street corners, individuals who are lost, homeless, drunk and destitute.

Indian people who become rootless, say their representatives, are casualties, victims of dislocation from traditional homelands and livelihoods. They are tragic products of exposure to white society's religious and commercial approaches, an historic process which eradicated both traditional beliefs and a cultural sense of self-worth and left little of meaning in its place. On northern streets, the sight of these disabled natives blinds many non-native people from seeing the many other Indians privately going about their business in town, working or shopping, seeing a doctor or pharmacist before returning to the reserve.

Many northerners, native and non-native, are today actively involved in combatting racism and in trying to replace negative attitudes with acts of cooperation and peaceful coexistence. These "positivists" praised activities such as the annual Lake of the Woods Pow-Wow. Here non-Indian people are invited to join the celebration of Ojibway singing, dancing and drumming. On other occasions, both groups may participate in cross-cultural seminars. Low key social occasions, such as bingos, they pointed out, bring people together. Outlying reserves often hold open sporting events, such as baseball field days or tours of their reserve facilities, to give townspeople an idea of what life on the reserve is like. Women of both cultures have formed joint associations and attend conferences to try to identify social and cultural issues upon which they can work together.

More recently, some school boards in northern Ontario have begun offering courses in Indian culture, history and language to both Indian and non-Indian students, while community colleges provide such courses for adults in the larger centres. All these activities were cited as positive developments in extending a hand in friendship and in breaking down the barriers of racial prejudice.



People Outside the Cultural Mainstream

The question of discrimination against Indians in northern Ontario, in the view of observers, is mainly one of Euro-Canadian self-preoccupation and thoughtlessness regarding the plight of a group of people outside the cultural mainstream. The Ontario Human Rights Commission stated in Kenora that its largest single complaint category was one dealing with native people. Charges range from denial of public services and utilities to denial of the right to a room in a hotel, refusal of a meal in a restaurant or a beer in a bar. They went on to say:

"The discrimination is inherent within the system . . . directed against racial and ethnic groups . . . There has been a long-standing observable pattern of unequal access to education, social and employment opportunities that has worked against minorities and women, but, which in turn, has favoured their male counterparts . . . the native applicant cannot seek protection from the formal provisions of the Ontario Human Rights Code. These sections of the code cannot address structural discrimination and inequality of opportunity."

(Ontario Human Rights Commission, Kenora, p. 2551)

Many non-native persons practice a discrimination of indifference and unwillingness to press for equal justice for the discriminated-against group. For example, a resident of Sioux Lookout described an establishment response:

"Hydro dams flooded areas sacred to our native people, graveyards destroyed and desecrated for example, not too far from where this meeting is being held, and the bones of their ancestors scattered on the new beaches formed by the flooding, and nothing mentioned by those responsible for this wanton act of destruction and humiliation. Had this been perpetrated on non-native people there would have been a province-wide outcry but the native people of whom I am speaking suffered in silence and without recourse."

(Wesley Houston, Sioux Lookout, p. 228)

The position of second-class citizen or even no-class citizen is an uncomfortable one, but one that many native Canadians feel they have been placed in by an uncaring society. As Chief Saul Fiddler said at Sandy Lake:

"When one is told long enough and often enough by a dominant culture that his own culture is pagan, primitive and inferior, he begins to believe it."

(Chief Saul Fiddler, Sandy Lake, p. 2415)

Native and non-native representatives agreed that most racial discrimination in the north is unconsciously practiced. There is little in it that arises from deliberate hostility, anger or fear. Yet overt discrimination does exist.

In Kenora the Commission was shown a photograph album and listened to the descriptions of the pictures:

"A 47-year old man beaten up by four white teenage boys, 15 to 20 years old. That's one."

A 67-year old man. Four teenage boys, all white, approached this man, asked him if he had any money. He told them he had none. The boys got mad so they beat him up. Mark around his throat where one of them attempted to strangle him. He says he's sore all over where he was punched and kicked. Incident was reported to police and also a signed statement is available. That's number two.

No. 3. 46-year old man. This man was walking around the street in the early hours of the morning as he had no place to go. He met three white teenage boys. As he approached them two boys got on each side of him, while the other one grabbed him, threw him on the sidewalk. As soon as he fell down then the three proceeded to beat him up. He tried to protect his face by putting his arms up but one of them managed to kick him above the left eye.

No. 4. 27-years old. This man was sober, when he decided to go for a walk along the beach road area in Keewatin. He saw four white boys coming towards him. As they approached him he realized they were going to pick a fight with him so he started to run but the boys caught up with him and they beat and kicked him. He said there was no reason for them to attack him.

No. 5. 45-years old, beaten up by three white boys. Location: Recreation Centre. Approximate age of boys: 16- to 18-years old. Signed statement is available. And here I put a common sight on the streets of Kenora; there's blood, you know, on the streets.

No. 6. An old age pensioner. An old lady. Four white boys approached this lady and asked her if she received her pension cheque yet, and when she didn't answer they started beating her up.

No. 7. This man was walking towards the hospital, which is located on the west side of Kenora, when he felt that he was being followed. When he was sure that some people were close behind him he started to walk faster and eventually broke into a run. When he looked back the people were also running so he decided to run into the bush across the railroad tracks. He thought someone grabbed him and that's the last he remembers. When he woke up he was in the hospital and his legs felt funny. His legs were; this man will never walk again because his legs were cut off.

No. 8. A man and a woman were walking to town when they became aware that they were being followed by three white boys. One of the boys was holding a bottle while the other one was carrying a chain. The man said he didn't notice if the other boy had anything. Sensing that the boys were after him the man told the lady to go ahead and try and get away. Thinking that she was safe enough, he started running. He apparently didn't go very far. Next thing he knew someone was trying to wake him up. When he was fully awake he resumed walking. When he was asked why he didn't report this to the police he answered, "They wouldn't believe me anyway, besides I would be the one to be thrown in jail".

No. 9. A man decided to go for coffee. As he neared his destination four boys approached him. He recognized three of them so he stopped to talk to them. Instead of talking, they started beating him up, robbed him of money and left him. He reported this to the police, made a statement saying that he knew who beat him up. No results came of that."

(Nancy Morrison, Kenora, p. 2596)

Non-natives attending the hearings were quick to express their dismay at these acts and to disassociate themselves from any support of the perpetrators:

"The very moving address given by Nancy Morrison on Tuesday is a problem that we all face on these streets, and I submit to you I know no citizen in Kenora other than some of the young youth who, you know, partake in that type of thing. I would point out to you, Sir, that it is virtually impossible to get insurance on plate glass windows on Main Street and Second Street in this town because of those same type of things, but it is certainly not supported by our people."

(Kenora and District Chamber of Commerce, Kenora, p. 3056)

The effects of racism and discrimination in the north are deeply felt:

"I am an Indian, and I am young, and I said I am good. When I say I am good, I don't mean a person too good for anyone, but a person who feels confident she's done well and deserves that classification. But I am tired. I am tired of being put down. I am tired for not being recognized as a good person. I am tired of asking and tired of being refused. I am tired of being misused. I am tired of being treated like I'm dumb. I am so tired that I can no longer withhold my voice and allow the world to tire me into losing my self-respect, because I am proud to be an Indian."

(Roberta Keesick, Kenora, p. 2680)

Some representatives of the Indian people said that ending racial prejudice had to begin with a recognition of the problem by all northerners:

"We want to propose a serious alternative to either passive resignation or cultural genocide, neither of which is acceptable to us, nor in the best interests of the Canadian people. What we are calling for is a recognition of the existing reality, that northern Ontario is a divided community with stark inequalities between the races."

(Treaty #9, Moosonee, p. 3087)

Understanding and sharing of each culture's strengths would be next:

"Until the dominant society comes to appreciate the gifts that Indian society has to offer us, we will continue to treat the destruction of their lifestyle in this part of Ontario lightly, giving no thought to the treasure we are losing . . . I must add, however, that we too must share. We have given Indian people the vote and yet . . . I am appalled at how little attempt has been made to help them understand what it is all about. We put great effort into assisting newly arrived immigrants to understand our system and how it operates to facilitate their involvement, but very little effort — very little in helping our northern neighbours with the same thing."

(Rev. Stuart Harvey, Kenora, p. 2747)

Suggestions were made for reforms which would overcome the structural discrimination:

"A full two-thirds of the population of this area are native people and remedial measures are necessary if they are to achieve equal footing to overcome past disadvantages."

(Ontario Human Rights Commission, Kenora, p. 2554)

The Ontario Human Rights Commission offered to activate that part of their act which allows the agency to implement:

" . . . special employment programs to remedy the adverse affect of past discrimination in education, training and career development . . . to increase the employment of members of a group . . . currently under-represented or under-utilized in the labour force."

They made the comment that:

"It is pointless to proclaim that the rules of the foot-race must be equal for all, when some are already a hundred yards behind."

(Ontario Human Rights Commission, Kenora, p. 2557)

In addition to Ontario Human Rights initiatives, other special employment programs were recommended to improve native people's position in northern society. Campbell Red Lake Mines reported that it already operates one such program which allows native people to work on a seasonal basis:

"... in effect a two-seasonal flow, both summer and winter, which depends on the hunting, trapping and fishing seasons ... The workers are trained and experienced, and thus can be accommodated into the work force on this seasonal basis."

(Campbell Red Lake Mines, Red Lake, p. 608)

Employers were called on to take affirmative action in implementing such measures as:

"... special transportation to combat adverse weather conditions and long distances from home to the job, actively recruiting native people through their own media and with the help of their own organizations, special training courses ... flexible or special working hours, long-term career planning, and job sharing."

(Ontario Human Rights Commission, Kenora, p. 2555)

Northerners of both cultures saw the need to act to ensure equality:

"Where there is injustice, let it be corrected by courts. Where there is unequal opportunity to obtain an education or commercially viable skill, let us provide the programs and the means whereby our people take advantage of them. Where there are political rights which are not fully enjoyed by native people, let us provide them and ensure that they are freely and equally available. Where further investments of social capital can be shown to be of assistance to our native people let us provide it willingly ..."

(Kenora and District Chamber of Commerce, Kenora, p. 3068)





Out-migration Imperils Northern Future

Movement of population between centres in the north and out of the north affects both native and non-native cultures. Young people of both groups often find it necessary to leave their homes, first in search of education and then of employment. For the non-native, such a move is emotionally disruptive, a departure from familiar places and people. For native youth it means a drastic adjustment to a whole new way of life. They experience a culture clash within their own country.

Can the North Afford Population Depletion?

The economy of northern Ontario is based on the exporting of raw materials and the importing of finished products. This is true also in the matter of human resources. With few exceptions, young people gain education and job experience elsewhere. The return half of the cycle, however, is obstructed when opportunities do not exist for northern people to come back to the north with their knowledge and skills. Northerners are rightfully distressed by the "brain drain" which takes away their best and brightest, with little prospect of calling them home again.

The Commission was advised that many northerners want to stay put but cannot. They try to establish permanent roots in northern Ontario but then a dwindling resource or a downturn in economic conditions obliges them to move to the next big development site. Northerners called for a more diversified and stable economy that would reduce the need for them to move on and for their children to leave.

For native people, there were many reasons for leaving home. Children who wish to continue their education past grade eight or ten must attend high school off the reserve, many times hundreds of miles away from home — and light years away from the culture in which they have been raised. Other children are forced to leave because their parents have succumbed to the ravages of alcohol and despair and cannot care for them.

Sometimes entire families are forced to relocate off the reserve because they can no longer make a living off the land, and this for a variety of reasons, ranging from pollution or government regulations ending their way of life, to not having learned the skills required for survival in the first place.

For other northerners, the pursuit of education and jobs is also the main reason for leaving home. Students who wish to continue to post-secondary education or training must travel to Thunder Bay, Sudbury, or further. Small towns north of 50 do not have the facilities or the resources to prepare these students for the wider world.

A recent Ontario Department of Labour and federal Employment and Immigration Canada study noted:

"The real reason for most migrants to leave emerged quite clearly from this study: the majority of people who move from northwestern Ontario see little opportunity for advancement there and hope to find better opportunities and higher pay elsewhere. That they succeed in doing so is demonstrated by the vast improvement in the income range of those leaving the region. It seems, then, that northwestern Ontario serves as a way-station for upwardly-mobile workers who enter the region seeking better job opportunities, and who eventually leave for the same reason. Thus, while improvement in educational, recreational, and housing facilities may be of some help in reducing the tendency to leave, only by providing job opportunities commensurate with the abilities, education, and expectations of this upwardly-mobile group can the trend toward migration from the region be significantly altered."

Leaving Home, Often for Worse

The Royal Commission heard great concern expressed about the number of people leaving the north — for education, for jobs and for opportunities unavailable in their home regions. In all the towns of the north, the people, young and old, questioned why there should be such limited opportunities for work, study and play.

In the words of young northerners:

"I want to remain here, I want to grow and develop here, and there is probably nothing else at this time that means as much to me as fighting for the opportunity to do so. Many of my friends have gone to other parts of Canada; to Toronto, Montreal, London, Vancouver and most often to Winnipeg for their education. They grow there and they learn there and all too often they remain there."

(Fergie Devins, Kenora, p. 2573)

And:

"... the people who do return come back only to find that jobs they are trained for simply are not available."

(Cathy Love, Sioux Lookout, p. 332)

Many people felt that the root of the problem lay in the pattern of development which had occurred in the past, where very little of the wealth extracted from the north is cycled back to its origin:

"Where are the jobs from the silver of Cobalt, Gowganda, Elk Lake, etc.? In the south. Where else? Along with the cream of our young people. Kirkland Lake, Timmins and their resource, gold, same story — the workers built and paid for the towns, educated the children who had to go south because no jobs were provided for their skill."

(Arnold Peters, MP, Moosonee, p. 3115)

People pointed out that development of the boom and bust pattern can only drain the north of its resources — including its most precious one, its youth:

"The young go south, not from any desire on their part to leave their home, their family and communities but to find employment — to use their talents and their education and to raise their families."

(Arnold Peters, MP, Moosonee, p. 3116)

As long as industry considers it more favourable to extract and move on, there will be no legacy for the north, and nothing on which to build a future, northerners pointed out. People of the north called for local

involvement in planning development. Training and future opportunities could be built into development plans instead of hiring outside skilled labour, extracting the resources, and leaving little behind:

"Guidelines should provide for some processing at the source location rather than in the United States or in already over-crowded southern Ontario. The diversity of job positions would enable the area to retain some of our youth who are presently departing to find employment, and not because they want to leave the area."

(Madsen Community Association, Red Lake, p. 539)

The Indian people, the Commission learned, are traditionally a migratory people. Development of the north has greatly affected their normal pattern:

"The survival of the native peoples in this country is the result of their ability to adapt to their environment. They are not static. When the land no longer supports their lifestyle, they move."

(Canadian Association in Support of The Native Peoples, Toronto, p. 2035)

In recent years the dispersal of native people has been increasing. Many have headed for the towns and cities of both the north and south. While some went in search of job opportunities, others drifted into larger communities and remained there under the chronic alcoholism that engulfed them. Much out-migration occurs within the north as native people are forced out of their own world and into another:

"Most of our people who went out were caught in the middle of the conflict between two cultures. They reacted in one of several ways. Some retreated to the security of the conservative Indian world. Some sought geographical refuge. Others escaped into the twilight zone of alcoholism. Some rebelled and committed crimes or engaged in anti-social behaviour."

(Big Trout Lake Band, Osnaburgh, p. 1873)

In the towns, native people were exposed to all forms of discrimination. They lived in the shanty districts where there was no water or sewage, no garbage disposal, no electricity, only:

"... improvised shacks just large enough to contain a bed and an air-tight stove."

(Big Trout Lake Band, Osnaburgh, p. 1873)

One such area is McDougallville in Red Lake:

"There is one large concentration of natives in the McDougallville area of Red Lake. However, most natives do not live in one district neighbourhood. There does not appear to be any explicit or implicit policy or practice of racial discrimination. The existence of McDougallville is related to problems of housing, job opportunities, vocational training and social problems. For many, McDougallville serves as an area of transition."

(Tri-Municipal Committee, Red Lake, p. 471)

The problems of substandard housing continue and are worsened by the overcrowding which takes place when more native people migrate in to the towns and stay with relatives who are just learning to cope with urban realities such as rent, landlords, liquor and police. Among the few agencies established to assist native migrants are the Native Friendship Centres in 16 towns throughout the province (72 in Canada).

A leader of the Toronto Native Friendship Centre told the Commission that:

"The increase in the workload for native centres across Ontario has increased to such a degree in the last ten years that I fear for the next ten years. They cannot handle the numbers of people who are coming into the urban areas with the resources they have, and we want to see a reverse of that trend, so the people when they come to the cities come because they want to and not because they are forced to."

(Roger Obonsawin, Toronto, p. 2032)

The Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association stressed the need for adult education programs to help make the transition to city life easier:

"Where are the meaningful adult education programs in Thunder Bay, Toronto, Winnipeg? Overseas immigrants coming to Toronto are introduced to a variety of courses to help them adjust and establish themselves in the society and economy of Ontario. Should a person coming from Pikangikum, coming to Red Lake, apply from outside the country to learn English and basic town life skills?"

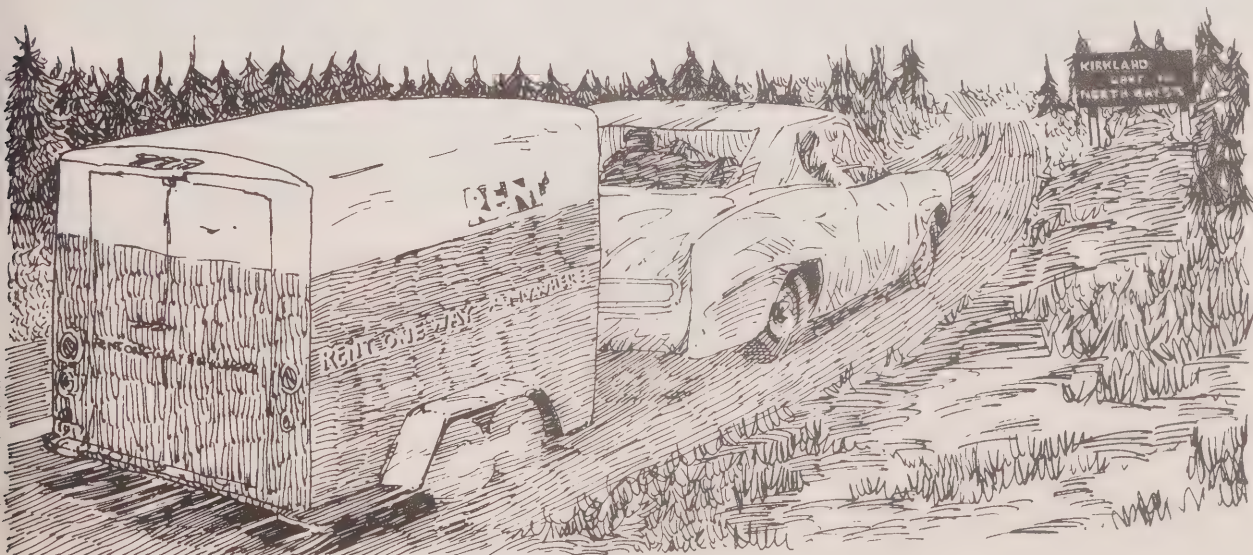
(Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association, Kenora, p. 2639)

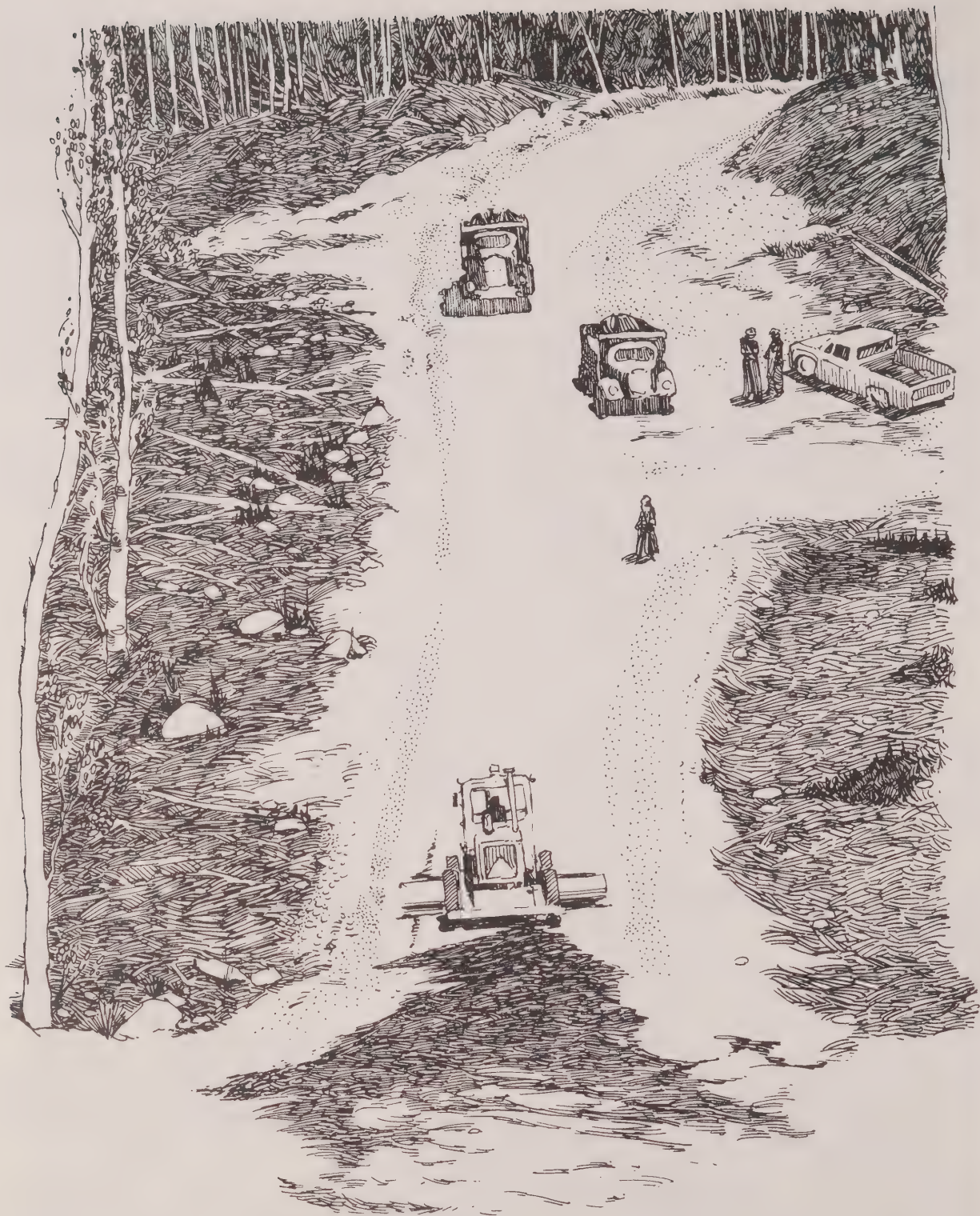
Forced into towns and cities against their disposition, native students must leave their homes to attend high school and young non-native northerners go south to college or in search of jobs. All of this is a sad situation, but the most heart-rending out-migration is that of native foster children who are apprehended by the Children's Aid and placed in white foster homes. A social worker for the Children's Aid Society told the Commission that:

"The life of a foster child from a native home is not always good. As well as leaving his parents, he must often leave his brothers and sisters, his school, his community, his language and his culture . . . We have children who have experienced as many as 12 foster homes in the first four years of life . . . When a native child is placed in a white environment the trauma he experiences is beyond our understanding."

(Joyce Timpson, Osnaburgh, p. 1937)

The dislocation of people, both native and non-native, from the homes which they have loved is one of the social costs of changing the northern environment. Little wonder, the Commission was told, that talk of large-scale development arouses instant apprehension among northerners about being uprooted and forced to move again.





Employment—A Factor in Northern Identity

Job creation in northern Ontario relies heavily on natural resource industries — mining, forestry and tourism. Thus employment opportunities are subject to the economic uncertainties which exist for these industries in the north. A variety of work-related topics came to light during the Royal Commission's hearings: i.e., lack of secondary industry, limited number and type of jobs in the extractive industries, job discrimination against women and native people in hiring and training, lack of educational and training opportunities related to employment generally in northern communities. Also raised was the philosophical question of whether the native way of working the land through trapping, hunting and fishing was not in itself more meaningful work than hourly wage labour.

Jobs for Some—Unemployment for Others

Many Canadians have a less than realistic impression of work in the north. Pictures of boisterous lumberjacks, hard-living miners, carefree truckdrivers — sturdily built men, arms like tree trunks, powerful as bears, come to mind.

However, the precariousness of employment in the north makes northerners less than boisterous, more concerned than carefree, about what they will do when the bust after the boom has come, when it is too soon to retire but retraining is difficult and when one is too attached to one's community to want to move on.

Unemployment in the north is hardest on low income workers — labourers and unskilled workmen. The professionals and managers are mobile and most can easily move elsewhere.

Those northerners who are self-employed in traditional pursuits and make their living off the land are not as affected by the economic forces that cause unemployment for wage earners.

As the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment learned, working for wages is a matter of importance to both non-native and native northerners. Natives feel that they gain stature among their families and peers by having a paying job. Resident northerners take pride in the jobs they hold.

Canadian census figures indicate that one in four employed people in the north works in the extraction of raw materials and resources from the land [forestry, fishing, trapping, mines and quarries. On a province-wide basis, however, only 1.6% of all the people in Ontario work in these primary industries. While 25% of all employed Ontarians work in the manufacturing sector, only 3% of northern Ontarians work in this field.¹

It might be expected that northerners would favour continued expansion of resource-based primary industry. However, time and again, submissions from towns and individuals told the Royal Commission that secondary industry was what was desired and should be encouraged. Northerners, the Commission was told, believe that their economy must become a great deal more diversified by way of manufacturing if a secure future for their population is to be ensured.

The people at work in wage-paying jobs reflect only a narrow range of the more basic occupations and services generally available in most southern communities.

Regrettably, occupational diversity is not nearly as great in the north as in the south. As a consequence, those with specific training who are unable to find jobs are forced either to leave northern Ontario or to await fresh economic development thrusts in the north. This phenomenon particularly affects young people just out of school or post-secondary training programs.

The Commission was provided with many causes for unemployment in northern Ontario. Among them, mercury pollution on the English-Wabigoon River system has deprived many commercial fishermen of their livelihood. Closing the last gold mine at Geraldton seven years ago has meant the end of an era for anyone staying there. The possible curtailment of CN service could lead to unemployment among railway workers in northern Ontario.

¹Statistics Canada, 1971 Census.

Potential Jobs For North Go South

Northerners expressed concern about the lack of stable employment opportunities, and about the limited range and slow growth of employment opportunities in the north. At the Commission's hearings, people criticized past developments when many potential jobs for the north were exported south along with unprocessed natural resources. That many well-paying, relatively permanent jobs in the north were filled by non-northerners, was a cause of irritation. Many northerners argued for development designed to bring stable jobs, but were adamant in their concern that the social and environmental irresponsibilities of the past not be repeated.

There were frequent references to the lack of employment opportunities in the north as a factor in prompting young northerners to go south in search of jobs:

"Time and again, we in the north have said that we want development, but we want controlled development. We are not looking to locate a large steel mill with all the attendant problems in our community. Our environment is extremely important to us. We are also well aware that we do not have the population to support a large manufacturing concern. The distance from the markets also prohibits such large undertakings. What we do protest is that the small, specialized type of industry that would fit well into our area is not here, so that our sons and daughters who we would like to remain here to live on our land, have no choice but to go elsewhere."

(Town of Geraldton, Geraldton, p. 1339)

While employment opportunities are limited for everyone in the north, native people claimed that they are faced with particularly acute unemployment. The situation in Sandy Lake is indicative of many native communities:

"In our community of 1100 people, there are 40 full-time jobs. There is some seasonal and short-term employment but right now, there are 300 people who would take jobs if there were any. Eighty per cent of the community is on welfare."

(Sandy Lake Band, Sandy Lake, p. 2410)

The statistics for Moose Factory were equally gloomy:

"Statistics of the Department of Manpower indicate that of a 300-man labour force in Moose Factory, one in every three, or 100 people are unemployed. Moreover, it is estimated by local officials that for the combined communities of Moose Factory-Moosonee, having a total population of approximately 3,000 and a labour force of 600, the unemployment rate is no less than 60% . . . Our people want to work but there is no work for them."

(James Bay Education Centre, Moosonee, p. 3128)

People recognized the relationship between acquiring job skills and employability. But some also pondered the futility of attempting to provide training when there were no jobs for them to go to:

"We are training people for jobs that are relatively or totally non-existent in this area . . . If we are going to train our people, we must allow them at least the opportunity to practise their skills."

(James Bay Education Centre, Moosonee, p. 3160)

The sense of frustration is heightened by the awareness that:

"The majority of jobs created are filled by skilled labourers from the south."

(Winisk Band, Moose Factory, p. 3255)

The unemployed people of the north have few amenities. Their situation contrasts sharply with that of the people, many from the south, who fill, for limited periods, most of the stable public and private sector jobs in the north. The "transient professional" lives well in the north:

"Some people may object to the word 'transient' because it reminds them of the reality of colonialism . . . How else can we explain the tremendous housing benefits and salaries and northern allowances which we 'transient professionals' receive?"

(John Long, Moose Factory, p. 3310)

Northerners understandably expressed their resentment over these inequalities and suggested how they could be avoided:

"I think local people should be given preference when the north is developed. Again, we don't want a bunch of outsiders coming in and taking over and getting all the best jobs. Local people should be trained with government subsidies . . . so that the local people get the good jobs."

(Father Brian Tiffin, Geraldton, p. 1284)

To ensure that northerners benefit from job opportunities:

"... legislation (should) be developed that will protect the rights of northerners to employment opportunities and discourage the tendency to rely on transient labour."

(Kenora Women's Coalition, Kenora, p. 2716)

A suggestion was made that in hiring people to fill positions on or near native communities, native people should be given first choice:

"Only after local native people have been given ample opportunity to accept these jobs, should applications from outsiders be considered, in the event that there are still unfilled positions."

(Hector King, Sioux Lookout, p. 289)

In the case of new developments, some people argued that the onus be on the developer to ensure that every opportunity for meaningful participation is open to northerners:

"Sufficient lead time must be provided to train individuals to work at jobs which require training . . . Local people must be used if development . . . is to benefit those now living in this area, as it should."

(James Bay Education Centre, Moosonee, p. 3142)

Not only do individual jobs go to non-northerners, but so do entire projects. In Moosonee the Commission was told that:

"The government of Ontario in its program of improving communications to west coast James Bay communities, has hired, and reportedly without public tender, a firm from south of the 50th parallel to open winter roads to microwave tower sites during the winter of 1977-78, while the expertise, machinery and equipment for such a project has been and still is here, north of the 50th parallel in the communities of Moosonee, Fort Albany and Attawapiskat."

(James Bay Education Centre, Moosonee, p. 3143)

Northerners protested against such occurrences:

"We feel that when any large jobs are coming up, either government or private, that local contractors should be given not only a chance to bid on the contract but special consideration. We feel it is unfair as we pay local taxes, that outside contractors who make a big buck and leave, do not have to pay."

(Albert Brazeau, Pickle Lake, p. 1660)

Another irritant to northerners is the shipping of northern resources south for processing, depriving the north not only of processing jobs but also of the basis for the development of secondary industry. For example:

"While the forest industry obtains 80% of its round wood from the northern boreal forest, 60% of the jobs are in the southern sector. This is nothing short of being amazing."

(Ontario Professional Foresters Association, Ear Falls, p. 793)

As a consequence, the employment potential for northerners is severely limited. The Madsen Community Association stated:

"Resource-based industries usually result in an outward flow of profits, taxes and financial benefits. Even the by-product, employment, is in another area of the province."

(Madsen Community Association, Red Lake, p. 542)

The need for some diversification of the northern economy, based on further processing of the north's resources in the north, was repeatedly stressed. The resultant wider range of job opportunities would help to meet the complaint that:

"The job opportunities in the north are minimal. Males can either work in the mines or out in the bush. Females can wait on tables or babysit at a minimal wage."

(Doreen Heinrichs, Red Lake, p. 524)

While job opportunities are limited for men, they are virtually non-existent for women. Many of the problems faced by women in the north are discussed elsewhere. What is worth noting at this point is:

" . . . the assumption prevalent in single industry, male-dominated communities that women can contribute only in a domestic setting or in low skill, low status employment."

(Red Lake Inter Agency Co-ordinating Committee, Red Lake, p. 596)

Dependence of a town's labour force on a single industry makes nearly all jobs in that community insecure and dependent on the survival and success of that industry. The boom-bust pattern is known all too well by the people of the north. The Commission was told time and time again of:

" . . . the company towns which can die as quickly as they were once set up, . . . the lack of jobs for women, the relocation and dislocation which occurs when a company is closed."

(Ontario Federation of Labour, Kenora, p. 2658)

Northerners expressed their frustration at being the continual "victims" of boom and bust development. They stated their desire not to be dependent:

" . . . for our livelihood on a fragile economy based on exhaustible resources and external conditions over which we have no control."

(Vince Keller, Red Lake, p. 522)

They saw secondary industry and small-scale, controlled development as ways toward northern self-reliance.

One currently debated issue raised at the hearings is the alleged trade-off between environmental protection and jobs.

The Ontario Federation of Labour's position on this was clear:

"The labour movement adamantly refuses to be conned by the industry argument of the need for trade-offs between environmental control and jobs. We have learned, to our detriment, that the usual outcome of such argument is both pollution and unemployment. We no longer intend to be so naive, and are becoming increasingly convinced that pollution control methods in themselves can generate employment and that alternative methods of resource and energy development must be intensively researched and examined."

(Ontario Federation of Labour, Kenora, p. 2661)

The Ministry of the Environment also spoke to the concern that stringent environmental regulations are jeopardizing industry's survival and thus employment opportunities:

"In discussing economic implications of environmental standards in Ontario, we feel that the argument that environmental standards are driving away investment in Ontario is largely unsubstantiated."

(Ministry of the Environment, Red Lake, p. 562)

The Ministry of the Environment suggested that there could well be positive returns to industry from pollution abatement:

"An example of such a benefit is the improved efficiency of an industry by recycling useable by-products which were previously wasted. Another benefit is the creation of new jobs associated with the designing, manufacturing and installation of pollution abatement equipment."

(Ministry of the Environment, Red Lake, p. 563)

Environmental degradation's impact on the native economy, however, clearly reduces the returns from self-employment in trapping, hunting, fishing and other traditional pursuits. The extent to which native people have been able to support themselves through traditional pursuits has been declining steadily, they claimed, while opportunities for wage employment have not increased at anywhere near a compensating rate. In fact, they pointed out, jobs which in the past have been open to native people and compatible with their values and lifestyle, such as in guiding and logging, have been on

the decline; guiding as a result of environmental destruction (for example, mercury contamination) and logging because of the harvesting practices introduced by increased mechanization, among other factors.

The Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association described what is happening to their people in the forest industry:

"In the bush there has been a steady decline of the small third party contractors: the independent cutters on contract to the mills . . . This means that we must now work mainly for the big companies. For some of our people this is satisfactory, but the loss of small, independent contractors means it is increasingly difficult for an individual or group to set up by themselves. It means there is a loss of flexibility in bush employment. Many of our people require flexibility during that period when they are trying to establish themselves in the labour market. The big companies are too big to allow this. Even those who work for the big companies in the bush have to worry because of the increasing mechanization. In most cases we don't have formal education, we have skills and experience that are not necessarily recognized."

(Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association, Kenora, p. 2640)

Shifting to wage employment has not always been easy for native people. Their perspectives of time and other dimensions differ. Southern models of efficiency, productivity and capital are unfamiliar to them. Patterns of living and religious beliefs also seemed to cause difficulties in adjusting to the requirements of wage employment in the north.

The native liaison officer of the Umex Mine at Pickle Lake described some of the problems involved in employing native people:

"The Indians don't like working night shifts. Night shift for an Indian is sleeping, among other things. We lost more Indians by putting them on shift work. Another thing, I could not get any Indians to work underground. They are superstitious and they say the underground is for dead people . . . Another thing, they did not like living in bunkhouses with the other guys, they could not adapt to living in bunkhouses."

(Henry Munro, Pickle Lake, p. 1750)

Native people did these jobs regularly, however, if they had an employer who understood the need for a special kind of flexibility, who recognized the force of long-standing tradition:

"Then comes the hunting season when the call of the migrating goose is irresistible to a people whose very lives had depended on successful hunting for generations back."

(Canon John Long, Nakina, p. 1532)

While native people have successfully entered the wage economy, the Commission was told that this in no way reflects a general desire among the Indian people to abandon their traditional way of life:

"Traditional land-based occupations like hunting, fishing and trapping will always remain the most preferred occupations of many of our people, and even those who have joined the wage economy will always want to retain their close relationship to the land."

(Treaty # 9, Sioux Lookout, p. 82)

Striking a balance between wage employment and the traditional ways of living off the land has not always been easy for native people. In many cases, participation in wage employment has meant a shift away from traditional pursuits. The short-term nature of many types of employment in the north has resulted in a population unable to support itself fully either from traditional pursuits or through wage employment. An example was given of the early gold mines in the Pickle Lake area:

"The mining community involved our people only to the extent they could become wage labourers for unskilled positions. No thought was given to training our people so that they could pursue more meaningful goals within the wage economy. This participation in wage labour, even for such a limited period, resulted in our people giving up their reliance on our natural resource economy of trapping, fishing and hunting; a reliance that was and is in serious jeopardy due to the increase in tourist hunters and sportsmen, through the access roads. Consequently, with the closing of the mines, we became welfare recipients, and lost the pride in a culture which had once been, for us, a source of strength and dignity. Inevitably, this loss of pride was marked by an increase in alcoholism, violence and social disintegration."

(Treaty # 9, Sioux Lookout, p. 112)

Native people indicated they were actively seeking employment which will give them a sense of worth and:

"... the opportunity to use the skills and knowledge that we have in order to make a living."

(Sandy Lake Band, Sandy Lake, p. 2421)

While the type of job that a native person might feel to be worthwhile and rewarding could well differ from what others might desire in a job, all northerners expressed the concern that employment be meaningful.

As the Moosonee Development Area Board put it:

"We want good continued creative employment that gives pride and feeling of accomplishment to everyone."

(Moosonee Development Area Board, Moosonee, p. 3109)

Both natives and non-natives seemed to share the feeling that all northerners should have:

"... the right to determine the way they are going to live and the kinds of jobs that are necessary to provide a decent standard of living."

(Ontario Federation of Labour, Kenora, p. 2655)

Further development of natural resources was seen by most northerners to offer the greatest hope for increased employment opportunities. Northerners differed, however, on the questions of the pace and scale of development they wanted to see in their area, just as they differed in the types and range of employment opportunities they sought. A consistent view, however, was that:

"Most people in the area ... would like to see growth and development at a pace and size which would not destroy the way of life or the environment."

(Tri-Municipal Committee, Red Lake, p. 476)

Many people expressed a sensitivity to the desires of others, in particular to native people, in their call for development:

"Resource development must consider the northern environment as well as the quality of life for those who wish to hunt, fish and trap. Thus, while it would be wrong to hinder this (traditional native) lifestyle in the north, it would also be just as wrong to deny opportunities to wage employment to those who seek it."

(City of Timmins, Timmins, p. 856)

Most northerners seemed to share the view expressed by Arnold Peters:

"We are a selfish people. We want jobs. We want our share of the good life ... but don't make us squander the resources left to us."

(Arnold Peters, MP, Moosonee, p. 3124)



Environmental Standards—Necessary Safeguards

Northerners care passionately about their environment. The Royal Commission was left in little doubt of this at the conclusion of its hearings. Most speakers agreed that development was necessary for economic survival, but nearly all wanted safeguards for the environment to be taken into account when plans were made and approved for that development. With few exceptions, northerners decried past desecration of the land and called for government-enforced standards to ensure that the environment is properly cared for in the future.

Respect for Environment—How Great a Priority?

Charges of pollution and environmental destruction brought to mind images of fish floating belly up, of scum-coated rivers, of black smoke belching from industrial stacks, of the haze created by the exhausts of vehicles, of refuse littering once-pleasant countryside.

To some of the people of northern Ontario, pollution also meant “Fish for Fun” signs along mercury-contaminated rivers, the destruction of the forest by clear-cutting, the flooding caused by hydro dams; and for native people, the abuse of an environment created by the Great Spirit, to be used, tended and shared.

For industry in the north, the environment is just one of many factors to be considered in cost-benefit analyses. Like other costs, those for environmental protection are kept to a minimum. Effective business management measures the environment in the dollars and cents that it would cost to install required pollution abatement equipment or to locate at a different site.

To native people and to many other northerners, such a business approach is difficult. How can one place a dollar figure on the land on which one's grandfather had his trapline, or the river from which one's family is fed and one's livelihood earned? But even if one did, others have usually decided which environmental impacts of a proposed development will be abated and which will not. Many northerners expressed resentment that such decisions are often made in the boardrooms of Toronto or government offices in Queen's Park and Ottawa by people who never directly experience the consequences of their decisions.

The Commission learned that northerners understand the cycle of natural change in the northern environment — the erosion of the land, the life cycle of forests, the shifting patterns of the rivers. It is man-caused changes accompanying large-scale developments which are most feared. Experience with these has shown them to be destructive when left uncontrolled. At the Commission's hearings, people referred to the north's legacies of man-made changes in the environment, such as mercury contamination, wood wastes in the waterways, polluting mine tailings.

Many northerners considered that development should be allowed only when adequate regard and respect have been shown for the northern environment. Good environmental legislation, they maintained, must consider the special character of northern Ontario.

The Commission discovered that few northerners tire of proclaiming that they live in the north out of a love for the land. Many stated proudly that they were born in the north, or that they had chosen to live there. Many spoke of their ardent wish to conserve and pass on this land to their children and generations yet unborn.

Some Sort of Control Necessary

Preservation of the environment in the face of future development was a subject of major concern to many people appearing before the Commission. Opinions differed as to how much regulation was appropriate, but there was universal agreement that some form of control was necessary. Questions regarding the matter of environmental standards begged answers. Who was responsible for what? Who would pay? Underlying the anxiety and concern was evidence of peoples' love for the land north of 50 and their strong desire to protect the environment.

One resident's strong attachment was expressed:

"For the land is here, this part of northwestern Ontario, 50 and north — it is still relatively undamaged, still alive, still infused with the quality of the celebration of the meaning of this land. It is one of the very few places left in the world where this is true."

(Millie Barrett, Geraldton, p. 1416)

The north, the Commission learned, is particularly susceptible to pollution:

"Environmental safeguards are equally as important in the north as in the south. Some of the factors in the north create unique problems . . . The reduced buffering capacity of the northern lakes makes them particularly susceptible to acidification . . . By their nature resource-based industries have wide-reaching environmental effects. The climate conditions in the north shorten the period of biological activity which in turn lowers the degree of regeneration as well as assimilation of wastes. This, therefore, requires a longer period of time for the natural systems to respond to man's disturbances."

(Ministry of the Environment, Red Lake, p. 559)

Recognition of this susceptibility, and the need to protect the land were expressed to the Commission:

"It has taken nature millions of years to cover the hard rock which is still very shallow and quite poor. The trees are low in height and stunted. In fact, it is a miracle that the land is covered with a forest . . . The industrial community and its allies in government who are bent on making the easy money, the fast buck, see it differently. They view it as 16,640,000 acres of unclaimed forest that they can log and turn to pulp. They do not realize that if you clear this forest you destroy permanently a delicately balanced ecological system. This land is so unique, so intolerant of disturbance that it seems blasphemous to even think of it as property."

(Treaty # 3, Dryden, p. 419)

For some people, apprehension was so great that further development was opposed:

"We, therefore, as native people are opposed to the big industrial development projects proposed by the provincial and federal governments. These projects completely destroy the land and the beautiful surroundings which are not replaceable but vitally important to the survival of the people. It also destroys the animals that need the elements of the forests and waters to survive. If these development projects do go ahead we will have nothing to offer to our nation yet to be born. Ours was and is the way of nature, a natural existence."

(Chief Fred Wesley, Moose Factory, p. 3234)

Not only natives suggested that development be restricted:

"We believe the past performance of Reed Paper in our area leaves much to be desired. We do not think the environment will withstand the mammoth mechanized development this company proposes. The already polluted English-Wabigoon system cannot be allowed to carry the effluent from any new pulp mill."

(Carl Stephens, Canadian Paperworkers Union, Kenora, p. 2737)

A well-known academic expressed his concern that an industrial society would further develop northern resources even when environmental degradation was a predictable consequence:

"The forgotten side of the equation, it seems to me, is the environment, and the social economic considerations of native people. In even a medium-term perspective (for example, the lifetime of our grandchildren), the environment must be considered of greater importance than the economic side, if we were forced to decide on one side of the equation or the other. However, the pressures for economic development in northern Ontario are so strong that there is little likelihood, during this century, that such an either/or choice would fall on the side of the environment. In realistic terms, therefore, the question is whether decisions on the use and development of water in northern Ontario can be made in a manner that will be compatible with the protection of the interests and rights of native people, and in a manner that preserves the vital elements of the environment, particularly the renewable resource components of it."

(Dr. Douglas Pimlott, Timmins, p. 914)

Not everyone was convinced that environmental protection should be the first consideration on the list of priorities. The Prospectors and Developers Association took exception to the phrase "preservation of the environment." Their contention was:

"The environment is constantly changing. Man, in common with all inhabitants of the biosphere, must adapt to these changes. A static environment is an impossibility . . . Every year this waterway strips five million tons of soil and rock from this region. This rate of erosion is increasing as the land rebounds from the last ice age. An activity of man is miniscule in comparison."

(Prospectors and Developers Association, Timmins, p. 1188)

The Cochrane Board of Trade voiced the need to protect the environment and to pass on a "decent and pleasing countryside and way of life to succeeding generations" (p. 1140) but were concerned that some environmentalists have forgotten that the wealth they consume or administer is created through development of natural resources:

"Many such persons are comfortably established in the affluent upper middle class of our society, they usually inhabit the southern cities of our province, far removed from the areas which they seek to 'protect' and they are usually well removed from that portion of our economy which earns its livelihood from the production, processing or distribution of real physical wealth . . . We are opposed to the unrealistic attitude of such people toward the wealth-producing segment of our society. They sneer at those of us who favour development of our natural resources, as though we were motivated only by greed, and intent on the defacement and destruction of our natural environment . . . We cannot join those who wish us to commit economic suicide by forbidding all development. We too are part of the environment, and we claim the right to a reasonable economic existence."

(Cochrane Board of Trade, Timmins, p. 1139)

Both natives and non-natives expressed a desire for some industrial development to help provide them with a more stable and varied economic base. However, they did not want development at the expense of the environment, and they wanted some control over potential damage to the environment:

"We look forward to progress in the north, but controlled developments for the betterment of our peoples, and not the type of development that is destructive to everything but the profit margin of a large multinational corporation. We have heard that Reed Paper no longer wants the tract of land they had asked for, but we fear that if Reed does not want these forests, then another company with the same bad habits will take the forest sooner or later anyway. We have also heard that a pipeline is to be built close to our communities. We want to know what will be the effects

of this pipeline on the land and the animals, and why we have not been consulted about this pipeline that will affect our lives. We have been told that our rivers may be dammed to create hydroelectric power, but we have not been consulted and we think that dams will badly affect our lives."

(Bill Mamakeesic, Sandy Lake, p. 2482)

More specific pollution problems were recounted by northerners in addition to their general concern for the environment. Mercury contamination from pulp and paper mills of waterways received widespread condemnation. But there were other problems created by the forest industry:

" . . . the bush being cut down . . . does have an effect. First of all, it affects the partridge and the deer dependent on the pines and other sources for food. The moose and other large animals need it for protection and shelter from hunters and in the cold winters. The noise scares off the other animals."

(Daniel Yoki, Nakina, p. 1524)

"The forest companies bulldozed my trails. They have destroyed my traps. They knocked trees into the Low-bush River . . . Now I can't canoe anymore because of the deadfall."

(Ontario Abitibi Band, Timmins, p. 1232)

The use of heavy equipment in clear-cutting of the forests has had adverse effects on the soil itself:

"Soil compaction, deep ruts and trenches caused excessive damage to residual trees and layerings."

(Dr. Thomas Alcoze, Toronto, p. 2043)

Mills situated close to towns affect air and water quality:

" . . . unburned wood particles drift into the town depending on which way the wind is . . . Here we have . . . logs that drifted up on the shore from water drives."

(Township of Longlac, Nakina, p. 1459)

The mining industry has also created problems:

"The Kam Kotia Mines . . . is an abandoned mine site with a tailings area which has had some problems . . . Some leaching and spillage is taking place into what is called the little Kam Kotia Creek . . . The old tailings disposal area is, in fact, contaminating the area . . . East of Matheson, Ontario there is a waste disposal dump rising several hundred feet above normal

ground elevation. The content of short fibre asbestos in this waste rock is a health hazard; and the structure of the dump, we understand, is such as to allow erosion by wind as well as rain."

(Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters, Timmins, p. 1046)

A chief of Treaty #9 described some of the residue with which northern residents have been confronted:

"You will have seen the deserted mineheads and several hundred yards of tailings piled 20 feet high. Like in so many other northern communities, outsiders came to Geraldton, dug up the ore and extracted the gold. It was shipped out of the north at a value of \$35. per ounce. Where is that wealth today? Do you see it here in Geraldton? No, Mr. Commissioner, all you see today is the ancient structures of the tailings piles. We suggest you fly over the area when the snow has gone and see what the people of Geraldton have today. See how even after all these years, over a huge area nothing grows. Imagine what it must have been like at the height of activity."

(Chief Charlie Okeese, Geraldton, p. 1375)

The tourist industry did not entirely escape allocation of blame:

"American hunters are overkilling the animals . . . They destroy the property on our traplines . . . These people seem to have no respect for our environment."

(Cat Lake Reserve, Osnaburgh, p. 1818)

Acid rain, a possible result of sulphur dioxide emission from the incomplete burning of fuels or smelting processes, was raised as a hazard to vegetation, lakes and fish:

"Considerable evidence has been amassed on the subject of sulphuric emissions. Biochemists of the University of Toronto and McMaster University . . . have documented fallout of diluted sulphuric gases are causing the water quality in many lakes in northern Ontario to become more acidic than the fish populations can tolerate."

(Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters, Timmins, p. 1047)

The Commission was told that mercury compounds are more readily soluble in an acidic medium than in an alkaline or neutral one. One consequence could be increased concentration of mercury compounds in northern lakes, leached from rock outcrops by the action of acid rain.

Industry generally was felt to be the source of much pollution:

" . . . none of us, regardless of where we live, can

be sure that the water we drink is not contaminated with radioactive materials, or PCB's, or DDT, or mercury, or asbestos fibres, or arsenic, or a combination of these and other poisons."

(Kenora-Keewatin Ministerial Association, p. 2690)

On the other hand, industry representatives advised the Commission that environmental damage is not necessarily as severe as contended by some. For example, Steep Rock Iron Mines described the results of development 30 years ago:

"These projects disturbed the environment to a very significant degree. Today, 30 years after the Steep Rock Diversion was constructed, and 15 years after the dredging was completed, it is evident that while the environment was temporarily disturbed and altered, it was not poisoned or permanently destroyed . . . Properly controlled, massive disruptions of the environment need not have a long-term, negative effect. The fact that the Atikokan area, including the very areas that were disturbed by the diversions and dredging is not only prime vacation area for thousands of tourists and fishermen, but also a favoured home for 6,000 residents of Atikokan, indicates that development of mineral resources, and enjoyment of our northern Ontario environment can exist together."

(Steep Rock Iron Mines, Pickle Lake, p. 1610)

A mining association declared that disruption of the environment was minimal:

"We estimate that these mining activities (north of 50) have affected some 16 square kilometers of land, or four one thousandths of one per cent of the territory you are examining. Evidence of the 26 worked-out mines is rapidly disappearing as the vegetation reasserts itself."

(Prospectors and Developers Association, Timmins, p. 1190)

While industry accepted the need for environmental protection, some concern was expressed by representatives of several mining companies about who should pay and what degree of protection was appropriate:

"When Umex decided to proceed with the development of a mine at Pickle Lake, it committed itself as a matter of corporate policy to the safeguarding of the environment and the furnishing of public services all to very high standards. The costs have been unreasonably high . . . The time has arrived for consideration to be given to having the general public bear more of the costs of environmental protection. When a company cannot pass on to its customers the costs of environmental impact studies and pollution control projects, then the costs can become fatal when considering the feasibility of a project."

(Union Minière Explorations and Mining Ltd., Pickle Lake, p. 1694)

"We, the Griffith, are fearful that controls will become so unreasonably rigid that industrial growth will be drastically cut and the economy in the area will become stagnant resulting in social as well as economic problems."

(Griffith Mine, Red Lake, p. 685)

The Ministry of the Environment countered arguments that adherence to environmental standards is driving away investment. Their officers pointed out that many competing jurisdictions, e.g., the United States, Sweden and other provinces all have similar standards. Since companies will be faced with some form of pollution control wherever they locate, inability to compete must be considered with other factors, such as differentials in labour costs, political and economic climates and accessibility of markets.

Considerable concern was expressed at the hearings over the process whereby the environmental effects of proposed developments are assessed. The mechanism for assessment in Ontario is the Environmental Assessment Act,¹ however, it has not as yet been applied north of 50. Industry indicated its wariness about the assessment process. The following comments from Reed Ltd. are representative of industry's feelings with respect to environmental assessment:

"We believe it is essential that whatever regulatory ground rules and development review and approval procedures are established, that these not be unreasonably and unduly restrictive and that they not be subject to arbitrary and unilateral change. If the Commission is to consider and make recommendations with respect to such environmental ground rules and review procedures for different classes of development, then these objectives should be kept in mind."

(Reed Ltd., Red Lake, p. 516)

The Environmental Assessment Act came into effect in July of 1975. The Act establishes a process intended:

- 1) to identify and evaluate all potentially significant environmental effects of proposed undertakings at a stage when a broad range of alternatives and remedial measures (including the decision not to proceed) is available to the proponent;
- 2) to ensure that the proponent of an undertaking and those government officials who must approve the undertaking give consideration to means of avoiding or mitigating adverse environmental effects before granting approval to proceed.

All public sector undertakings are subject to the Act unless exempted by regulation.

Only those private sector undertakings designated by regulation are subject to the Act.

Proponents governed by the Act must prepare and submit an environmental assessment containing an evaluation of the ecological, social, cultural, and economic effects of the proposed undertaking and practical alternatives. An assessment, because of the broad definition of environment in the Act, can be used as a basis for determining the full range of economic and social costs and benefits of a proposed undertaking, not just its effects on the physical environment. Once an environmental assessment is submitted, the Ministry of the Environment coordinates a government review of the document by all ministries and agencies with relevant interests or responsibilities.

Both the environmental assessment and the government review are public documents and may be viewed by the public. The Act provides that any person may make written submissions on these documents to the Minister of the Environment. Members of the public may also re-

quest that a hearing be held by the Environmental Assessment Board by giving written notice to the Minister.

If a hearing is held, the acceptance of the environmental assessment and approval of the undertaking are decisions made by the Environmental Assessment Board. The provincial Cabinet may vary the decision of the Board, substitute its own decision, or require a new hearing to be held.

If no hearing is held, the Minister of the Environment decides upon the acceptability of the environmental assessment and the Cabinet determines whether the undertaking should be allowed to proceed.

All important notices and documents under the Act are available to interested members of the public and are included in a public record maintained by the Minister.

Onakawana Development Limited urged the Commission to consider the effects of uncertainty and delay in the assessment process and suggested that:

"A single government agency, a single, well-established procedure, and one jurisdiction for submissions, reports and hearings and approvals would be of great benefit."

(Onakawana Development Limited, Timmins, p. 958)

That is, it is not so much the existence of an assessment process that could inhibit development, but the uncertainties created by "a constant recycling or repetition of the process prior to approval". (p. 958)

There seemed, in fact, to be a general feeling among both developers and those anxious to control development that one of the Commission's most significant contributions would be to examine and clarify the procedures whereby proposed development projects for the north are assessed. In effect this would necessitate an examination of the existing legislation, the Environmental Assessment Act. Many felt that:

"Although your Inquiry has not been set up under, and indeed is completely independent from the recently proclaimed Environmental Assessment Act, we believe that there are strong parallels between your work and specific environmental assessment of designated undertakings under the jurisdiction of the Act. We believe, therefore, that your work will influence future application of the Act."

(Ontario Society for Environmental Management, Toronto, p. 2200)

Many of the suggestions made to the Commission were directed towards developing a humane and sensitive planning and environmental assessment model for the north. These included recommendations for provision for community hearings, full disclosure and access to all documents and information and adequate funding for public participation. A group from York University outlined what it considered essential to an adequate assessment:

"Assessment procedures should require effective participation by all affected individuals and groups, and permit participation by other interested organizations."

For this criterion to be fulfilled it is necessary that there be:

- (a) full and convenient access to relevant information for all actors;
- (b) provision of sufficient time and resources for disadvantaged groups to conduct original research and prepare both their own positions and responses to the proponent's arguments;
- (c) independent forums for the evidence to be received and evaluated;
- (d) a public information program."

(York University Polar Gas Case Study Group, Geraldton, p. 1307)

While industry expressed the wish that the assessment process be streamlined as much as possible and exorbitant costs avoided, most northerners were anxious that significant local input become an essential ingredient of the assessment process. Many felt that present legislation was inadequate because there was no such provision for "real" public involvement. Dr. John Spence drew a parallel with the situation in northern Quebec:

"If this development (Onakawana) were presently in northern Quebec, the terms of reference of the assessment would be established . . . (by) native people, provincial and federal representatives . . . In Quebec, native people would also participate in the evaluation of the assessment and in the formulation of the final impact statement."

(Dr. John Spence, Timmins, p. 1093)

The Northwestern Ontario Municipal Association also felt that:

"(Environmental) controls should be specific to individual sites and developments and should incorporate local input into decisions which will affect the lifestyle of the people of the area."

(Northwestern Ontario Municipal Association, Kenora, p. 2522)

The Law Union of Ontario urged the Commission to examine the present Environmental Assessment Act to determine whether it includes:

" . . . effective public participation. Funding must be made available to permit meaningful involvement by the individuals and communities affected by any proposal, and there must be real access to the decision-making process through both formal and community hearings."

(Law Union of Ontario, Kenora, p. 3041)

Pollution Probe recommended as well that:

" . . . the Commission critically examine Ontario's environmental assessment legislation and suggest

amendments to close loopholes as large as the one through with the Darlington Nuclear Generating Station slipped."

(Pollution Probe, Toronto, p. 2026)

¹All public undertakings are subject to the Environmental Assessment Act unless specifically exempted. The Darlington Nuclear Generating Station was exempted on the grounds that it was well advanced in planning when the Act was proclaimed.

Representatives of Treaty # 9 raised a number of questions about the adequacy of the Environmental Assessment Act:

"In our opinion, the Environmental Assessment Act is unclear in its criteria and inadequate for examining such large-scale projects as Onakawana and Reed Paper developments. It is crucial that the whole Act be reviewed, refined and revised. These five questions, we think, are the vital ones to be asked:

- 1) Was the Act designed on the basis of sufficient knowledge of our fragile northern environment?
- 2) Did its design take into consideration any other worldwide environmental practices?
- 3) Does it have enough scope to cover massive projects with a multitude of environmental affects?
- 4) Is there a realistic method of enforcing the regulations of such an act?
- 5) Finally, and most critically, why was this Act established without prior consultation with the people of the north, the people to whom it matters the most?"

(Treaty # 9, Moose Factory, p. 3353)

And at Moosonee, Andrew Rickard, Chief of Grand Council Treaty #9, stated that:

"The Environmental Assessment Act only provides for a southern industrial and urban society; it was not drafted with the fragile environment of our north in mind. Most important, it was developed without the input of our people, the majority of the inhabitants north of the 50th parallel. The Act contains no recognition of our culture, our economic style, nor the very real conceptual differences that exist between our society and your industrial society."

(Treaty # 9, Moosonee, p. 3093)

Beyond the question of assessment prior to the approval of a project lies the monitoring of the completed project and its adherence to environmental standards. Once an industrial plant is in operation what should be an acceptable level of environmental standards and how can these standards be enforced?

Current provincial standards were seen by some as not stringent enough to protect the environment:

"Ontario Hydro has repeatedly stated that the emission from its coal-fired generating station at Atikokan

will meet the standards established by the Ontario Ministry of the Environment. The project will not, of course, meet the United States and Minnesota SO₂ standards. Our concern is that the Ontario standards are inadequate."

(Treaty 3, Kenora, p. 2563A)

Others had no argument with the quality of the standards as such. In Kenora, Warner Troyer expressed his concern that government unwillingness to enforce standards was more of a problem than low standards:

"Nor do assurances from Premier William Davis and Environment Minister George Kerr that Ontario has the best pollution control and health protection legislation in the world give rise to much confidence. Vichy France, after all, had the first Good Samaritan legislation in history; and Nazi Germany had model social welfare laws. It is the will to enforce the laws, as demonstrated by the resources and priorities assigned to them, that talks, not the bare or barren statutes."

(Warner Troyer, Kenora, p. 2617)

Proposed solutions to the pollution problem could be divided into three groupings: a) promotion of the conserver ethic; b) utilization of technology to limit damage; and c) establishing and enforcing adequate safeguards for the environment.

Some of those advocating a conserver society pointed to the Indians, who had lived in the north for centuries without damaging the ecology, as an example for all Ontarians:

"The native people have lived in Canada for thousands of years without electricity, gas, heat, or automobiles and we still survive . . . Is it not time that natives and non-natives work together to find a solution? With uncontrolled development aimed only at profits and without regard for the delicate balance of life, we will only gain a few years of easy living; then it will all begin again. Meanwhile, our traplines are destroyed, our waters polluted, and our morals defiled as unconcerned outsiders come into the communities. Listen to us! We can work together. We can help each other. People abuse what they have and then are still not happy. Study our way of life and you will find a way of live in the present economic pressures without destroying northern life and human lives."

(Native Student Association, Lakehead University, Osnaburgh, p. 1932)

Pollution Probe expressed its belief that:

"A stable environmental and economic future for Canada is possible only if we begin immediately to implement the 'conserver ethic'. In recognizing that natural resources are limited in extent, a conserver society seeks to minimize the waste and abuse of these resources. We can, quite literally, do more with less."

(Pollution Probe, Toronto, p. 2022)

With regard to technology, opinion was divided as to whether the present state of the art was sufficient to maintain the environment in a prudent manner. There were those who claimed that present technology is adequate:

"We submit that with the experience and technology developed through the years, modern industry can control pollution effectively. Mining developments of recent years in our area demonstrate this fact."

(Association of Professional Engineers, Red Lake, p. 669)

Others saw a need for further research and felt that government was the appropriate agency to initiate such research:

"We must develop alternative technologies which are soft or non-violent . . . Government must take an active part in developing these alternative technologies, and they must take an active part in evaluating technologies before they are put into use."

(David Schwartz, Kenora, p. 2952)

Once those technologies are available, they must be used, and non-compliance met with penalties:

"Pollution controls applied to factories would mean that the technological advances of the seventies and the eighties are being utilized to meet the requirements and wishes of both government and the people of the province. Once the mechanics of the controls are established, they must be both monitored and enforced rigidly, with fines and restrictions serious enough to warrant compliance on the part of the industry."

(Madsen Community Association, Red Lake, p. 539)

A high school student echoed this thought:

"Industry should not be allowed to step over government controls. If industry does not adhere to the regulations, strong penalties against the offenders should be strictly enforced. Our environment is our children's future."

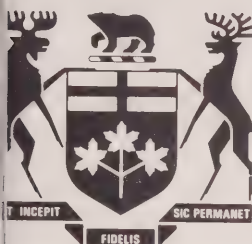
(Cathy Morgan, Red Lake, p. 521)

Northern white residents, it was argued, must come out strongly in defence of environmental standards, otherwise they may find themselves in the position described by a native spokesman from Whitedog:

"You have been on this continent for 600 years now and there exists very little evidence that you've learned a thing. If you continue in your present fashion, in another 600 years you'll find yourselves sitting all alone and naked on a hunk of broken rock outside of where Ear Falls used to be, asking yourselves, 'Hey, what the hell went wrong?', and you might even add, 'Hmm, maybe we should have listened to them Indians'."

(Charles Wagamese, Whitedog, p. 2808)

ISSUES



A Background Paper
on Behalf of
The Royal Commission
on the Northern
Environment.

Chapter

6

Northern Shortcomings—What Remains to Be Done

Page	Page
Education in North Needs Special Consideration..... 203	Communications Add Value to Life in the North..... 231
Health Care A Particular Concern 209	Justice Its Relevance to Native Cultures 237
Industrial Development Spells Housing Crisis 215	Community Taxation Too Small a Base 241
Recreational Facilities, Programs Lacking 219	Treaties and Rights In What Spirit?..... 245
Transportation and Survival Synonymous in North 223	Appendices (D, E, F, G, H, I) 251

The bracketed notations following the quotations identify the individual or organization making the presentation before the Commission, site of the preliminary hearing, and the page number in the transcript where the quotation may be found.

Chapter 6

NORTHERN SHORTCOMINGS—WHAT REMAINS TO BE DONE

A common theme of the many submissions presented to the Commission was the desire of northerners for meaningful participation in decisions affecting them. Southern influences and solutions were seen as overbearing and, in most instances, inappropriate to northern conditions. Southern standards, in housing for example, when applied in the north, often result in excessive costs to those affected. Few government programs are seen to reflect the special needs and circumstances of the north. Some conceded that the establishment of the Ministry of Northern Affairs may prove to be a step in the right direction, but believed that it is too soon to know what real changes this ministry will initiate.

—Mr. Justice E.P. Hartt

Isolation, Loneliness, Distance Deepen Problems

LONG DISTANCES, wilderness, rugged terrain, severe climate, small population, scattered settlements — all combine to make delivery of social services in the north extremely difficult and costly. The Commission was told that the level of services considered minimal in the south, and often taken for granted, is simply not available to northerners. A visit to a doctor in a city might be followed by a ten-minute ride to the hospital. In the north, such a need for hospitalization would, in many instances, involve a 40-mile drive over icy roads or a mercy flight in an airplane operating without adequate instrumentation or ground control.

Isolation and loneliness exaggerate problems arising from marital discord and interpersonal friction. “Cabin-fever” is more than just a catchy phrase in the north. With a population so small and scattered, it is difficult for government to provide adequate care facilities, and there are few neighbours to lend a helping hand in times of stress.

The Commission learned from educators of difficulties in planning appropriate curricula for a population, the bulk of which is highly transient. Professional people saw themselves hampered by the distance from colleagues and from opportunities to maintain or upgrade their expertise.

Parents of children with learning disabilities addressing the Commission spoke feelingly of many unsuccessful attempts to obtain special education.

In Toronto, a child with a speech problem has the option of attending a speech clinic at the Hospital for Sick Children (paid for by OHIP) or of being transported by school bus (paid for by the Board of Education) to a regular elementary school with a special program for speech-disabled children. Such a child in the north is mainly dependent on his parents to provide what help they can muster.

Older students often face the trauma of leaving their homes to seek secondary or post-secondary education in larger centres. Even when such schooling is available close to their own communities, a long bus ride in the cold, dark winter is a harsh necessity for many.

Every service is affected by the northern reality. Recreation, transportation, communications — all face the restrictions imposed by distance and isolation.

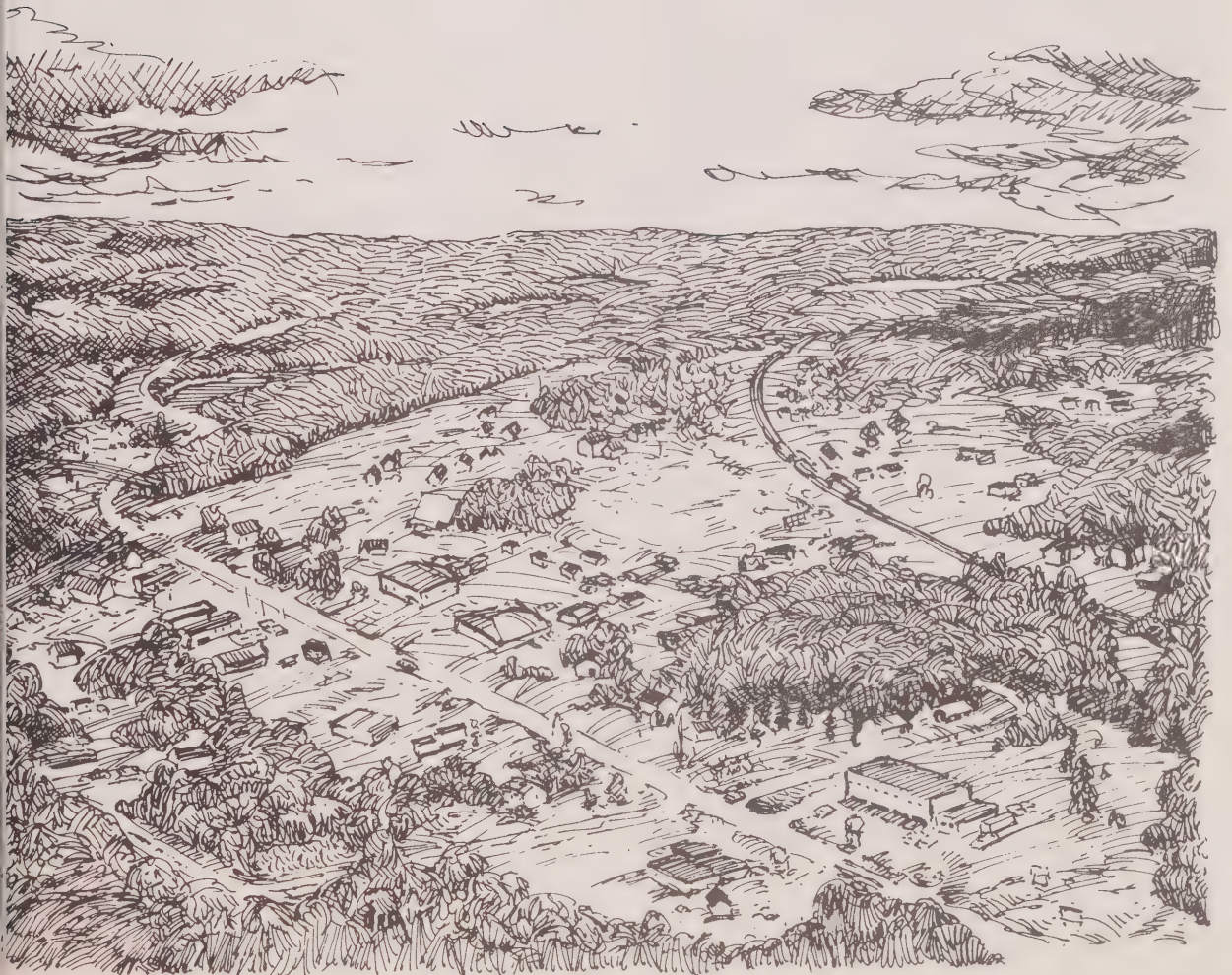
Because of the burden that invariably is placed on existing and already inadequate social services, many northerners fear the massive influx of transient workers that comes with development. According to northern experience, even after the initial inrush of newcomers ends, a greatly enlarged population places an intolerable strain on all facilities, on schools, hospitals, sewage systems, courts, housing, recreational facilities and other social services. In their appearances before the Commission, both natives and non-natives spoke of development with trepidation. Some were hopeful that if northerners are consulted and considered in advance of development, then social planning could reduce social distress.

Another aspect of this thrust for more northern input into decision-making is the popular wish to clarify which level of government is responsible for what services and how conflict may be minimized. Federal, provincial, municipal and band council governments all have interests in the north. What northern residents are seeking is a realistic approach and practical means of making their interests known to their governing bodies and having a say in how those interests are met.

Treaties and rights constitute one of the most contentious problems involving all levels of government in the north. Native people, in the main, feel the treaties are inadequate, either because of lack of meaningful consultation during negotiations or because of broken promises. The point they make is that their forefathers misunderstood the purposes of the treaties. In their view, the land belongs to the Great Spirit. Man, as part of nature, has the right to use the land, but he does not own it. It is not his to give away. Native people want new arrangements to reflect today's concerns while honouring yesterday's commitments.

Metis and non-status Indian representatives declared their wish to be included in the renegotiations of the treaties. They claim that they have been wrongfully excluded and deserve to be heard. Apart from native peoples, corporate industrial concerns also have a stake in having such questions as land claims settled. Uncertainty about land claims was easily recognized by the Commission as a barrier to development.

Whatever needs there are to be served and whatever the social issues, all seemed agreed in discussion that a priority concern for the people of the north and for their involvement in decision-making must form the necessary background for future development. Northerners left little doubt that they wish to rely on their own initiative, planning and strengths in determining the direction of their future.





Education in North Needs Special Consideration

Northerners urged that more financial resources be allocated for education in northern Ontario so that their children could benefit from advanced remedial and special education programs. Well-stocked libraries and properly equipped recreational facilities for schools were also sought. Native northerners lamented the imposition of the dominant society's values on their children. They stressed the need for curricula recognizing native values, experiences and culture to teach their children how to cope with their environment.

Northern Education—A Different Experience

The experience of going to school in the north is quite singular, different from that in any other locale in the province of Ontario.

While the curriculum is similar to that in the south, a phenomenon that most northerners consider highly inappropriate, other similarities end at this point. Many northern communities do have their own elementary schools, but often whether or not one's child can attend junior kindergarten, for example, is dependent upon the enrolment for that year.

High school education, in particular, can be markedly different for students in the north. There are only three northern secondary schools and if one does not reside in the communities in which they are based, obtaining a high school education is quite an accomplishment. Because of the north's small populations and isolated communities, many obstacles confront students seeking to graduate from high school.

In southern urban Ontario, getting to class is a matter of walking a few blocks or taking public transit to a high school stocked with the latest in study and recreational facilities. In the north, most students must either commute long distances to school by bus, often in severe weather conditions, or leave family and friends to board in a strange community.

Long hours on buses cause fatigue for some students. It is not unusual for many to leave home at seven in the morning and not return until six at night. These commuters are rarely able to participate in extracurricular activities at school. Once homework is done at night, they have little time or energy for social and recreational activities. Research studies show that students who travel long distances to school by bus every day are more likely to be enrolled in basic or general level subjects than in advanced courses. Such students are more likely to be absent and to drop out of school prior to graduation.

Students obliged to board out in order to attend high school reflect the burdens of loneliness, homesickness, inadequate supervision and financial strain on their families' budgets.

Indian representatives pointed out that native students experience all of the above difficulties, but must, as well, cope with an educational system predicated on values and cultures foreign to their own. Native people are chagrined to see the language and traditions of their own society overlooked, and forgotten through neglect.

An oft-reiterated regret in the north is the lack of remedial and special teaching. Needed classrooms, libraries and recreational facilities are often beyond the financial capacity of local school boards. In the north, the municipal tax base is small and dependency upon provincial financial support is great.

The Commission was frequently reminded that provincial education standards do not appear to recognize adequately the unique requirements of northern education. Small northern school populations may be ineligible for remedial teaching facilities, yet in desperate need of them due to the transient nature of the area's population and the shuttling of children from school to school.

Not surprisingly, census figures show the percentage of the northern population which had completed grades 11 to 13 considerably lower than for the rest of Ontario. The Commission was asked to consider this negative comparison and other discrepancies in northern education.



Improved Education—A Shared Goal

Education is a matter of common concern to all people of the north. Both native and non-native residents advised the Commission of the inadequacies of the present educational package. For non-natives, the system, designed and reflecting southern priorities, fails to parallel southern attainment standards. It is not responsive to their children's needs for schooling and a greater range of educational opportunities. Limited curriculum choices are the rule.

Native northerners share some of the general concerns of their non-native neighbours for improved education. Many of their briefs, on the other hand, directed the Commission's attention to the incongruity of the basic assumptions and values of the educational system itself. Their primary criticism was that the present educational structure imposes a curriculum which reflects the values and priorities of an alien culture, that of the dominant white, industrial, urban society to the south. As a consequence of this approach, they believe that their own culture, indeed their very survival as a unique and independent people, is threatened.

In Red Lake and Ear Falls, the Commissioner was told how the school system in that area:

"... attempts to provide a full range of academic courses for students, but cannot afford all of these in any one year. The high school does not offer major programs in commercial or vocational and other job-oriented studies ... There are ... limited ... opportunities for adult ... and post-secondary education."

(Tri-Municipal Committee, Red Lake, p. 473)

Students in Red Lake told the Commissioner that:

"The education system around here is really bad. In public schools we are not completely prepared for entering high school. We are taught only a few subjects instead of a little of everything. If the teacher doesn't like teaching a specific subject, he or she emphasizes another, usually physics, maths or geography. Hardly any English is taught, so when we come into high school we are expected to know a lot more than we do. We don't actually know anything. The curriculum should be the same everywhere in the system and followed closely. In the high school we don't have many choices in grade 13 as to what subject to take. We are sent to Dryden or Kenora if the subject is not offered here. This means leaving our friends and families from around here; however, judging from projected enrolments we may not have Grade 13 next year."

(Doreen Heinrichs and Dana Robbins, Red Lake, p. 526)

It was further explained that:

"Students who wish specific programs in grade nine or ten, or who are in a higher grade, are required to obtain their education in other school systems. At the

present time, the board subsidizes 22 of these students by reimbursing the parents for their children's expenses. Would you move to a community, knowing your family would split up, in order for your children to obtain an education that is readily available in another more southerly community?"

(Connell and Ponsford District School Board, Pickle Lake, p. 1730)

Physical facilities are also frequently inadequate:

"The Moose Fort School is 28 years old. There are 250 pupils from grade one to grade five in this school. The building was once a student dormitory which has been converted to a school. This building has been declared a fire hazard ... unsanitary, dangerous, unsuitable and costly ... In September 1978, the National Health and Welfare that supplies our schools with steam heating will terminate this service."

(Moose Factory Island Public School Board, Moose Factory, p. 3325)

The Commission heard what proved to be a recurring and universal sentiment in the north and one not limited to education issues:

"It is a known fact, north of the 50th, that bureaucrats in Toronto make decisions without even thinking of consulting people who will bear the burden of their decisions."

(Moose Factory Island Public School Board, Moose Factory, p. 3328)

Northerners conceded that there were facilities for education and training in some of their areas as good as any in the south. The James Bay Education Centre, a large modern structure in Moosonee, was cited as one such example. Its objectives were the meeting of the educational, vocational and social needs of all the residents of the James Bay-Hudson Bay area, the assuring of the development of basic occupational and domestic skills, the provision of vocational and employment training and the development of recreational and cultural programs.

When the education centre was officially opened, the Honourable William Davis, then Minister of Education, emphasized in his speech that the centre's success required that the people for whom it was built participate in planning both operation and programs. Such a philosophy fits comfortably with people in that area.

To some, the enigma of the James Bay Education Centre was that, with all the physical structures and capital equipment in place, with all the fine objectives and philosophy of participation defined, with an existing possibility to train and equip northerners for employment, the government of the day has yet to provide the funds necessary to develop and implement the educational training programs, the very content of which would assure the realization of the centre's objectives.

Elsewhere, apart from frequently identified issues of inadequate facilities, funding and curriculum, there were particular problems raised before the Commission. Individuals, speaking from personal experience, raised concerns that other northerners share:

"Our son has a learning disability. He needs special remedial training. We were told our son is far below his grade in reading after a psychological assessment which was taken last year. We wrote a letter to the Ministry of Education in Thunder Bay asking for help for our son; and to our surprise we were given the suggestion to send our son to a relative in the city for special training. It is shocking to think that people in the north are being asked to move to the larger centres to benefit from educational facilities that are supposed to be supplied by all school boards by the Ministry of Education."

(Linda and Don Pickett, Pickle Lake, p. 1722)

And again:

"Facilities for special children are non-existent in Pickle Lake. As the parents of a special child, we have made enquiries as to what is available in Ontario and find that there is little or nothing available for children in the grey area between retardation and normality."

(Don McKelvie, Pickle Lake, p. 1638)

In addition to the children with learning disabilities or those in need of special education, there are a significant number of northern children in need of remedial teaching. Their need in no way reflects upon their innate intelligence and ability. What it does reflect upon are learning and teaching difficulties peculiar to a transient population.

For example, in Pickle Lake the school board must:

"... deal with a community which is largely composed of a transient population. We experience a very high student turnover. This results in an abnormally high percentage of our students needing remedial teaching. Some of the students we obtain have moved numerous times over a short period. From September 1976 to September 1977, the school experienced 163 transfers of students to other schools. During the same period, we also admitted 165 new students in their place. This constituted a total movement of 328 students. This is almost double our present enrolment of 178 students. In June 1977, the Canadian Test of Basic Skills was given to 133 of 149 students then enrolled in the school. This test is approved by the Ministry of Education and is widely used in schools across Ontario. It will give an indication as to the level of development obtained by the student body in basic language skills. Of the 133 students tested in June, 107 are still enrolled with us. Of those 107, 28 per cent are more than one year behind in those skills. This 28 per cent does not mean that we have a large per cent of slow learners or other disabilities. These

are normal, healthy, average children who are behind because of the lack of facilities or special help in northern communities with the underlying problem of frequent changes in residents."

(Connell and Ponsford District School Board, Pickle Lake, p. 1728)

The problem of busing is another issue. Many students must spend long, tiring hours travelling considerable distances, often over winding, rough and icy roads. Not only does this cause concern to parents and school officials for the safety and well-being of the student, but the high cost of transportation in the north, in both maintenance and operation of vehicles, means that already strained educational budgets must be further stretched.

Going "out" to school is a reality for many northerners. Leaving one's family, friends and home environment is often necessary for northern students, both native and non-native, who want to continue their secondary education. For example, the Commission heard how native students from Moosonee and other northern points go to Timmins or other predominantly white populated places and in doing so:

"... are suddenly propelled into a community with which they are totally unfamiliar, thereby causing them undue stress, which in large part accounts for the considerable number of drop-outs among students."

(Canadian Civil Liberties Union, Timmins Chapter, Timmins, p. 2322)

Non-native students do not suffer the same cultural shock when they are required to leave their homes for an academic year. In speaking to this issue, the students of Pickle Lake told the Commission that they think there is a need for:

"... a regional high school and residential school for the kids of the north. We need provincial and federal government co-operation to obtain this. This would bring the youths of the north together. It would cut down on finances for room and board. Also, it would save the government money because they don't have to transport kids all the way to Thunder Bay, Sioux Lookout, Winnipeg, and all other large cities and towns. This idea would also help kids graduate since they are not so far away from school."

(Crolancia Public School, Grades 9 and 10, Pickle Lake, p. 1627)

The Commission heard a great deal from native northerners about their experience with and perception of the educational system. Their major concern was the negative impact that the educational system had and continues to have on the native student:

"We have had lots of samples of the white man's education. The first time was in 1905 when someone convinced us to let some children go to residential school, and we sent ten students out. Maybe they

weren't looked after, or maybe they could not get used to the environment, but anyway, they only ever sent one of them back, and nobody really knows what happened to the rest of them. After that, my grandfather, Jake Fiddler, who was the chief at that time, vowed that no more children would go out to school as long as he lived; and no more ever did. It was not until my father, Tom Fiddler, became chief in 1940 that our children started going out to school again."

(Chief Saul Fiddler, Sandy Lake, p. 2416)

When they did start going out to school again there were systematic attempts to separate native children from a fundamental part of their culture:

"Every Friday evening . . . it was time for us to report whether we spoke our language, Cree, during the week. If we confessed to using our own language we were denied the visit with our parents and younger brothers and sisters which was the only privilege we had. In other words, we had to lie to the minister in order to visit with our parents and relatives."

(Gilbert Faries, Moose Factory, p. 3277)

"School has trapped our children between two cultures. It teaches them your ways, not ours. They have only one lesson a week in Ojibway. This is not enough! And when we suggest that our elders become teachers so our children will learn our culture and ways, we are told there is not enough money."

(Pikangikum Band, Sandy Lake, p. 2449)

The Commission was also told how the white man's education is fundamentally irrelevant to the lifestyle and values of the Indians:

"Society's social and spiritual values and its attitudes are reflected in the educational program. The Euro-Canadian system seems to assume that competition between individuals is an inherent human characteristic to be promoted in the schools. It seems to promote individual success and achievement . . . and seems to address itself primarily to intellectual growth, largely ignoring physical, social, spiritual, emotional and psychological development."

(Ifka Filipovich, Sioux Lookout, p. 354)

"Now Kenomatiwin¹ system is different. It is harsh. It is a system which puts man against man, man against nature, man against the skies. It is competitive, not co-operative, and often destroys. My people are frightened as they see the destruction before them. My

people realize we must return to our own educational system if we are to survive."

(Treaty #3, Kenora, p. 2890)

¹Formal education.

The Commission heard that formal education has been available to some of the native communities in Treaty #9 for at least 25 years. But:

"Within those 25 years, the education system has produced in our area only two university graduates, countless elementary, secondary and post-secondary drop-outs, a large absenteeism record and indifference to education as a whole by the community members."

(Northern Native Education Council, Moosonee, p. 3178)

Before the intrusion of the Euro-Canadian culture, the native people had:

" . . . an educational system which was unique in that it involved every member of the family. The elders and the grandparents were involved in the philosophical and theoretical part of teaching. They taught the mysteries of life and of the world. The parents were involved in the practical aspects, teaching the child how to survive by showing him how to do things. The child was expected to learn by himself by being sent to the bush alone to achieve his spiritual development. The child, through this learning process, was given direction and the motivation to want to learn about life and to want to become a meaningful and successful part of that life."

(Northern Native Education Council, Moosonee, p. 3183)

In criticizing the present education system, northern natives did not suggest that they do not want education. But the education they seek must be:

" . . . meaningful to the student. It must be something which he can understand and relate to . . . It must enhance the culture and the identity of the student."

(Northern Native Education Council, Moosonee, p. 3179)

At the same time:

"We know that we have to adopt from your culture and other cultures those things which will benefit us. Adopting and accepting from other cultures those things which will add to our foundations, giving us a stronger sense of identity, is only logical if we are to survive as people."

(Northern Native Education Council, Moosonee, p. 3183)

Meaningful education should prepare native students for survival in the Euro-Canadian world, should they choose to be part of that world, while allowing them to retain their traditional values:

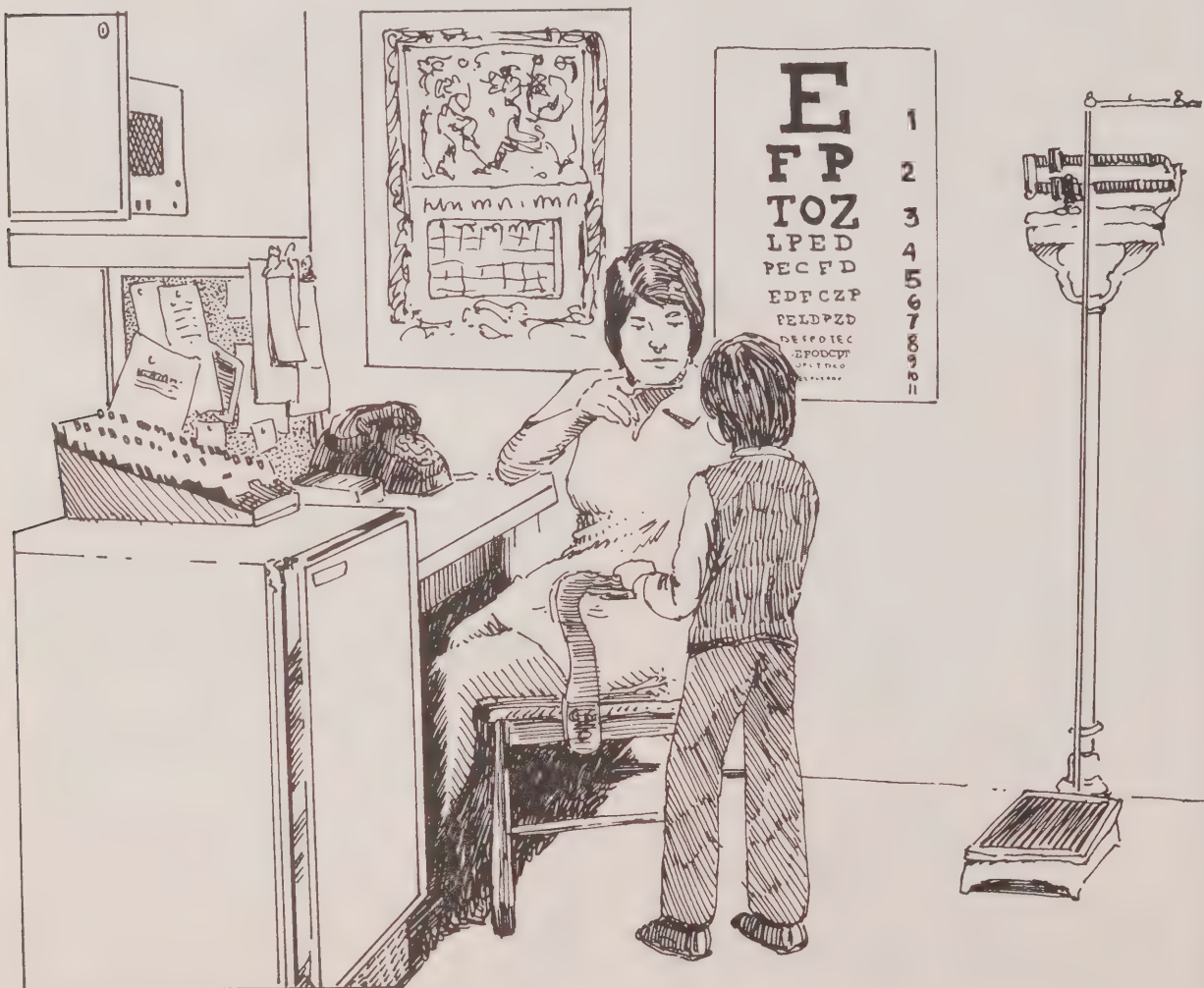
"My people must control their own system if they are to make changes. We want to decide on the objectives of education. We want to choose the curriculum and the methods of teaching. We want Indian control of Indian education. The reason for this is simple. We want to use education to regain control of our lives. We know that until our children become doctors and nurses, our health will be in jeopardy. Our homes on reserves will not be designed for comfort and safety until there are Indian engineers. Our legal system will not be just until we have Indian lawyers, public officers and judges. Through our own system of education, our children will have the access to jobs. They will have the means to communicate and unite. They will have strength in politics, and the freedom to live where they want to live."

(Treaty # 3, Kenora, p. 2892)

In the opinion of native people there is reason for optimism for education in the north although much needs to be changed. In Moosonee, the question was posed whether any educational program existed which responded to the objective of preparing people for two cultures. Such programs are the exception. However, an attempt is being made in Moose Factory:

"Our system teaches oral Cree from kindergarten to grade eight, teaches trapping, goose hunting and outdoor camping skills, as well as all the basic skills found in regular elementary programs. Our students at the end of grade eight are easily as skilled as any in the area despite our cultural content and emphasis. If our objectives are accurate and our schools don't fall down, we will be training pupils who have the skills and knowledge to either live in a traditional manner or follow a career related to the professions. Regardless of the choice, we want both opportunities to exist here in the traditional home of our students."

(Warner West, Moose Factory, p. 3335)



Health Care a Particular Concern

In the north, isolation, distance, high costs and lack of medical professionals place heavy burdens on people seeking health care. For the most part, hospitals and clinics are located only in larger towns while nursing stations are situated on reserves farther to the north. While physical health care is available, albeit at a distance, mental health services have been neglected in the north. The Commission was told that planning for north of 50 must consider all health care needs throughout the region.

Distances, Small Population Create Difficulties

Health needs north of 50 are subject to the same pressures as anywhere else in Ontario, but factors of isolation and distance worsen problems. A small, scattered population means that it is not feasible to centralize facilities. Many small clinics and nursing stations are required to provide care relatively quickly to those in need. This necessary spreading out of resources results in unevenness of service, both with regard to physical facilities and personnel.

The Commission found that it is difficult to attract personnel to the more remote areas and even more so to retain them for more than a year or two. Medical staff are subject to culture shock, isolation, heavy responsibility and loneliness. Even the more settled areas find it hard to staff their hospitals and clinics. Lack of social facilities puts these communities at a disadvantage in competing for the services of qualified people.

Basically three types of facilities care for the ill in northern Ontario, hospitals, clinics, and nursing stations.

There are six hospitals north of the 50th parallel in Ontario, two at Sioux Lookout and one each at Red Lake, Fort Albany, Attawapiskat and Moose Factory, with a total of 282 active treatment beds.

One of the hospitals in Sioux Lookout and the hospital in Moose Factory are jointly operated by the federal Department of National Health and Welfare and facilities of medicine and dentistry at the University of Toronto, Queen's and Western. Medical specialists, dentists and interns provide service on a rotating basis. These two federal hospitals, with well over half the beds (160), are used primarily by native people but are available to anyone.

In addition to providing in-hospital treatment, these zone hospitals are also the administrative and supervisory centres for the nursing stations that provide first-care facilities for the people residing in the smaller northern native communities.

The other general hospitals are modest (19 to 44 beds) with the restrictions that smallness implies. There are no specialists on staff, there is little sophisticated diagnostic equipment and there are no innovative treatment procedures. The patient who requires any of these must go further afield, to hospitals south of 50, and in more serious cases, to Toronto or Winnipeg.

There are eight federal nursing stations associated with the Zone Hospitals at Sioux Lookout and Moose Factory. Each is a four- to six-bed hospital/clinic staffed by nurse practitioners, and stocked with equipment to deal with relatively minor medical problems. The nurse practitioners are on call for the satellite clinics in remote areas staffed by non-professional aides.

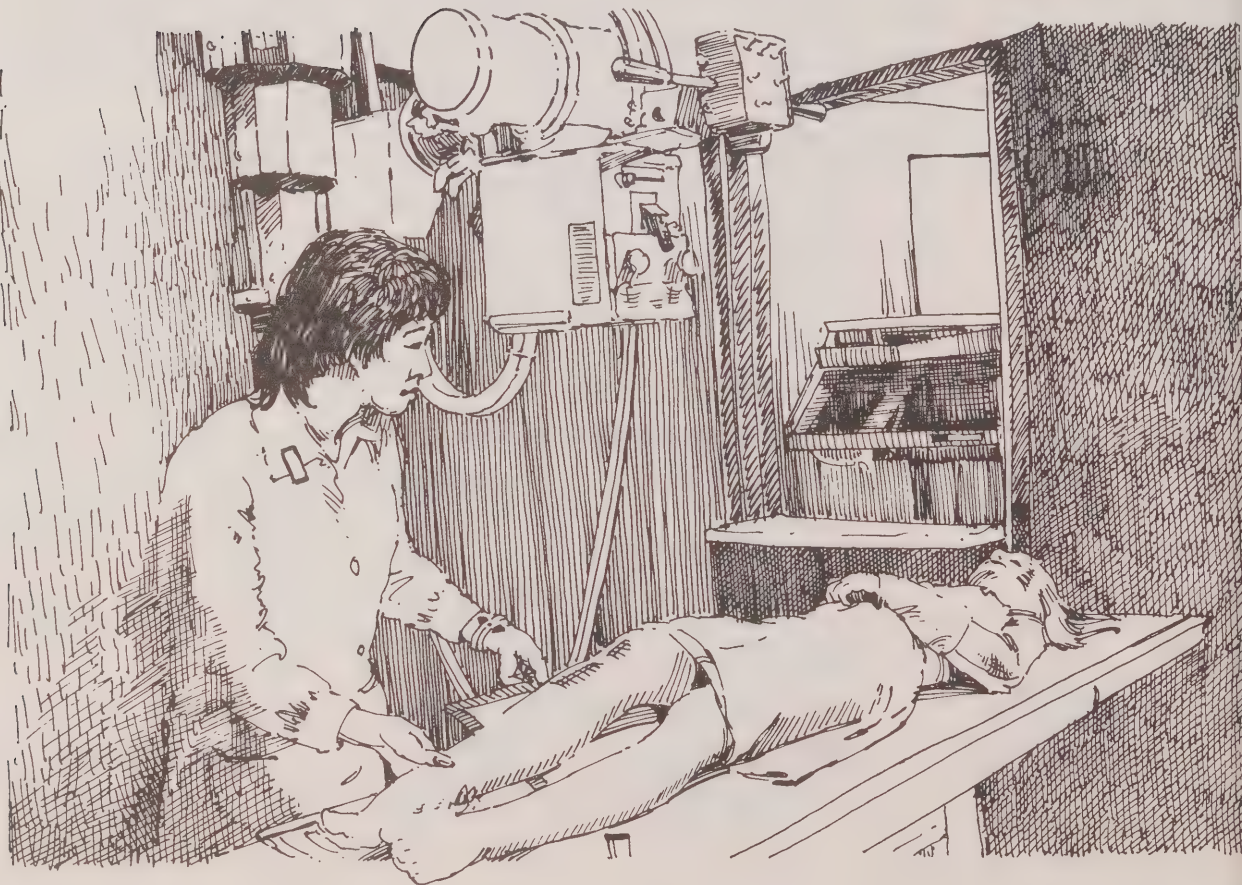
District health councils have been set up across Ontario to provide for greater local input by residents. Three of these operate north of 50: Kenora-Rainy River, Thunder Bay and Cochrane District Health Councils. These councils are provincially appointed voluntary bodies made up of consumers, health providers, local government representatives and representatives of Treaties #3 and #9.

The function of District Health Councils is to identify local needs, evaluate alternatives, establish priorities and plan a comprehensive health program for the district for which each is responsible. All proposals for changes in facilities and services that come from hospitals or other health delivery agencies require endorsement by the appropriate district health council before being considered by the Ministry of Health.

One health council told the Commission that:

"... the manner in which communities develop, whether they are stable, whether poverty is reduced, whether people have decent shelter and enough good food to eat, whether preventable diseases are reduced, whether a community has clean water and a good sewage disposal system, whether all people have the opportunity to express pride and attain goals, and whether people have a reasonable degree of security, will determine the future health of the people of this district to a greater extent than any institutions or professionals could even hope to do."

(Kenora-Rainy River District Health Council, Kenora, p. 2948)



People's Health in Remote Regions Needs Improvement

The quality of health care offered north of 50 is perceived by those who provide it as of high standard but with less than hoped for results. Dr. Gary Goldthorpe, Director of Sioux Lookout Zone Hospital, said:

"In spite of the range of the federal government interest over the years and the dedicated nurses in the nursing stations, the range of university qualified teaching staff specialists in all the medical specialties, an increasing dental program with increasing emphasis on preventative measures . . . it is clear to us who work with the Indian people of Sioux Lookout Zone that their health is not as good on average as that of the average Canadian. That is what pretty well all of our indicators point to . . . I am not proud of that . . . and yet I am proud of the medical work and the nursing work that our staff do."

(Sioux Lookout Zone Hospital, Sioux Lookout, p. 262)

Native people themselves had complaints about the health care they receive. One of the Pehtabun Chiefs at Sandy Lake said:

"Many communities do not receive the type of health services that they need. We have no hospitals in our area, and must depend on nursing stations to provide for our medical needs. Too often our people find, because of a lack of money or a lack of understanding by our nurses, that those who are seriously ill do not get out to a hospital. This has been the cause of many tragic deaths."

(Bill Mamakeesic, Sandy Lake, p. 2481)

A father expressed his dismay at insensitivity towards a sick child:

"Our little girl was sick. She was really sick. We phoned the nursing station at Sandy Lake and the nurse didn't want to send her out. She said she'd be in the next week. Those nurses don't seem to realize that the sickness doesn't wait around for them to come."

(Arthur Meekis, Sandy Lake, p. 2402)

Traditional Indian medicine still retains a place in their culture:

"I tell you that we cooperate fully with our medical people . . . But when my people have taken pills and taken pills, and the nurses finally say, 'I'm sorry, I have nothing here that can help you,' then the people go back to the old medicine men at Sandy (Lake), whose cures have worked well for many generations."

(Chief Saul Fiddler, Sandy Lake, p. 2418)

One factor in the decline of health of native people is believed to be the change of diet from traditional bush foods to processed "junk" foods now available to the settlements. A nutritionist from the University of Waterloo stated:

"Change from traditional foods to a semi-traditional diet . . . has been associated with increased incidence of various diseases and symptoms. It has been suggested that an abnormal carbohydrate metabolism exists in Indian and Inuit people. Evolutionary adaptation to a high-protein, high-fat diet may have resulted in the inability of some northern native people to correctly metabolize orally ingested sugar or sugar-containing food."

(University of Waterloo, Department of Man-Environment Studies, Toronto, p. 1981)

Many older native people agree wholeheartedly that new dietary patterns are not desirable. Chief Ben Quill said at Sandy Lake:

"Our people have come to rely on canned fruits and vegetables instead of fresh meat and fish. The old people say that the food they buy at the store does not satisfy their bodies, and so they eat fresh fish and meat, and their teeth are strong and sturdy. But our young people eat store food and their teeth are full of holes."

(Pikangikum Band, Sandy Lake, p. 2451)

That native people are less well-off than non-natives in terms of general health is evident:

"In the measurable aspects of health, Sioux Lookout zone Indians are somewhat worse off than the general population of Canada. Infant mortality is still nearly 50 per thousand live births,¹ crude death rate is about the same as Canada's with a younger population. Over one-third of deaths are violent. Certain diseases, such as tuberculosis, infectious hepatitis, scabies, otitis media, dental caries and trauma, have a much higher incidence than in the general population."

(Dr. Gary Goldthorpe, Sioux Lookout Zone Hospital, brief submitted to the R.C.N.E., November 1977)

Non-natives in the north share problems of isolation and distance but larger communities, at least, have doctors and clinics, some of them home-grown. A doctor in Ear Falls spoke proudly of what the people of his area had accomplished:

"A cement slab was laid, steel was erected, and now we boast in this township a fully-equipped doctors' and dentists' office complex with lab, x-ray, surgical and other facilities that would make any city doctor

¹This compares with an infant death rate of 15 per thousand live births for Canada, excluding Indians and Eskimos.

turn green with envy . . . Show me any city doctor whose offices were built by volunteer labour and by donations from industry and from children's walkathons and ladies' church groups and the like."

(Dr. Harrison Maynard, Ear Falls, p. 820)

Other areas are considerably less fortunate. A spokesman in Nakina said:

"Our clinic consists of an old building owned by the CNR and located on the side of the railway tracks. Besides being in a state of needing repair, the CNR have plans to demolish this building."

(Improvement District of Nakina, Nakina, p. 1484)

Getting to the doctor, nursing station, clinic or hospital can be a problem, ranging from inconvenient delay to danger to life. Where roads exist, distances are still great and a long ride over a bumpy road while in pain does not make the distance seem less.

The Mayor of Geraldton said:

"Should you be unfortunate enough to get ill, you had best hope that you get ill in the right location in the north. Should you get ill in Nakina and require ambulance transportation . . . you must wait for the ambulance to come 40 miles to bring you down to the hospital . . . Should you then be sufficiently ill to require medical services beyond the capacity of our hospital, you must then face a further drive of 180 miles to Thunder Bay."

(Town of Geraldton, Geraldton, p. 1345)

The areas where roads do not exist, air ambulances have been a great boon to citizens of the far north but have not solved all problems. In Kenora, a bush pilot related some of the difficulties:

"I can remember when the nurses would phone us up and say, 'Look we've got a lady. She's in labour. We've got to get her down to the hospital. There are complications' . . . I've had to tell them at times, 'I'm sorry, I can't go. There's freezing rain. It's below the capabilities of our aircraft . . . I'm sorry. We can't go. It's below the capabilities of the nav-aids available . . . Gee, I'd like to go but I'll bet I'll get violated, for flying out of this airstrip or into another airstrip with no lights!'"

(Bearskin Lake Service Ltd., Kenora, p. 2706)

Breakup and freeze-up times prevent ski and float planes from landing. Evacuation at those times of year can best be facilitated by the use of helicopters.

The Mayor of Geraldton believed that:

"All citizens should have equal access to medical facilities . . . There is only one way this can be done . . . a helicopter ambulance service . . . like the one operating immediately north of Toronto."

(Town of Geraldton, Geraldton, p. 1347)

Cost is another factor which creates problems for people. Chief Ben Quill in Sandy Lake said:

"Now we must pay our own transportation to the hospital. This causes great hardship, particularly for our old people. Going to the hospital from Pikangikum is not the same as going to the hospital in Toronto."

(Pikangikum Band, Sandy Lake, p. 2451)

A resident of Pickle Lake complained:

"Air ambulance is provided in emergency situations . . . The service is paid by OHIP and the patient is released from hospital. OHIP does not assist in the return fare. Return visits to the outside doctors for follow-up are not covered unless an emergency situation develops and air ambulance is required."

(Don McKelvie, Pickle Lake, p. 1638)

In the area of paramedical services, northerners feel short-changed. Older residents of small communities are particularly concerned about the lack of nursing homes, home care services, and other supportive programs, which would allow them to remain where they have spent their lives.

As one immigrant said:

"We came to Geraldton from Finland 40 years ago. We cleared the bush, made the roads, built the houses and now they say we must leave here to die somewhere else."

(Geraldton District Hospital, brief submitted to the R.C.N.E., February 1978)

In those communities that have hospitals, active treatment beds are frequently put into use for patients requiring chronic care.

Ancillary services are difficult to come by. For example, a handicapped woman in Kenora stated:

"Services for wheelchairs here in Kenora, are non-existent. If your chair needs repair, it goes to Winnipeg which is approximately 130 miles, or to Thunder Bay, 305 miles. You either borrow a chair or you go to bed until yours is repaired."

(Winnie Magnusson, Kenora, p. 1380)

A Pioneer Club spokeswoman in Geraldton claimed:

"There is no optometrist, therefore, people must travel . . . for glasses or repairs to glasses . . . The local dentist is kept so busy that it is usually faster to make the trip to Thunder Bay for denture repairs . . . Hearing aids are not available in this area, nor is there a hearing clinic held."

(Pioneer Club, Geraldton, p. 1380)

The increased incidence of dental caries was felt by both a Sioux Lookout Zone dentist and a Waterloo University nutritionist to be related to dietary changes, specifically an increased intake of sugar. Free fluoride-vitamin drops or tablets, toothbrushes and paste have all no significant impact. Mobile dental units currently provide initial care to pre-school and elementary school children in remote areas. The Northern Ontario Public Health Service (NOPHS) hopes to increase the number of units to provide maintenance as well as preventative treatment.

A hospital administrator in Geraldton was concerned about the scarcity of dentists, saying:

"The lack of adequate dental care in all our communities is appalling. One overworked dentist in Longlac, plus one part-time dentist in Geraldton, cannot begin to give the necessary dental care. Those who can afford to travel to Thunder Bay do so and those who cannot mainly do without."

(Geraldton District Hospital, brief submitted to the R.C.N.E., February 1978)

Mental health facilities do not exist north of 50 although the need for them is clear:

"The increase of mental health problems for this region from the year 1961 to 1977 is noted to be 300 times greater (than for the province as a whole). The increase in suicide in this area for the same time period is noted to be 400 times greater."

(Canadian Mental Health Association, Timmins, p. 2297)

A psychiatrist, affiliated with the Sioux Lookout Zone Hospital, remarked:

"High rates of murder, violent death, rates are penal incarceration and recidivism, child abuse and neglect, illegitimacy, poverty, gasoline and solvent sniffing are among the high indices of poor mental health."

(Dr. Gerald Greenbaum, Toronto, p. 2094)

People requiring psychiatric treatment are referred outside the area. When a return home is indicated, follow-up is provided by overworked, overextended public health nurses and the patient's physician.

The Ontario Ministry of Health recognized the problem in saying:

"No mental health facilities exist north of the 50th parallel, although there are some visiting mental services and, of course, there are general hospital beds used for psychiatric purposes."

(Ministry of Health, Toronto, p. 2161)

On the subject of health as on other concerns, the one complaint heard most frequently across the north was the relative powerlessness of the northerner in determining the direction of his life. One measure taken to involve northerners in health care planning and delivery was the establishment of district health councils. The Commission was told by the Cochrane District Health Council that:

"District health councils, of which there are now more than 20 across the province, have been established as a means whereby more decisions in health care matters may be made at the local level. They are voluntary bodies charged with the responsibility for comprehensive health care planning within their respective districts and for advising the Minister of Health on the organization and delivery of health services. Although the district health council mandate is officially discharged through the provincial Ministry of Health, health councils must be able to work cooperatively with federal authorities, as well as with other provincial ministries such as Community and Social Services and Northern Affairs."

(Cochrane District Health Council, Timmins, p. 2325)

Some changes have already occurred:

"The council is only a year and a half old. Most of the councils of Ontario are less than a year old . . . However, 90% of the recommendations of council that have been made, say, in the past year, have been accepted by the government, and some rather significant changes have taken place in terms of where money normally would have gone, and where money actually did go, and that has been demonstrated."

(Kenora-Rainy River District Health Council, Kenora, p. 2950)

One change felt to be necessary was a closer attention to health problems, particularly the impact of expanded industrial development on all aspects of delivery of health care:

"Without a good understanding of the present individual and systems problems, the desire to resolve them, future developments might exacerbate current conditions. Thus, our first and principal recommendation to this Commission is to place equal emphasis on the health and social impact of future development in the district, equal to the examination of environmental and industrial impact."

(Kenora-Rainy River District Health Council, Kenora, p. 2938)



Industrial Development Spells Housing Crisis

Subjected to extremes of weather as they are, northerners consider the provision of adequate shelter for themselves a high priority. The intensity of winter cold is legendary in the area and southern standards in housing are claimed as inapplicable; yet these standards, developed elsewhere, too often are followed in construction of homes in the north. The most frequent complaints about housing were in regard to its short supply and inferiority.

Inadequate Housing and a Shortage of Supply

Viewed from the air, the stark beauty of the north hides the reality of its harsh climate. During the winter, the north's cold is similar to that of southern Baffin Island. While the Canadian environment imposes special demands for adequate housing generally, this need is especially true in northern Ontario. For this reason one would expect that the northern experience in this century would have resulted in an impressive housing stock and in the development of innovative designs. But, unfortunately, this has not generally been true.

Among a catalogue of needs, northerners complained most emphatically to the Commission about inadequate housing and the shortage in supply. Limited design and quality can be found throughout the north and this is most evident in native communities. In remote northern settlements it is usually only the medical and teaching facilities which have running water, bath and toilet facilities. All too often, the southern conceived and manufactured houses found in northern communities fare poorly when compared to the other dwellings, in the area, fewer in number but of northern design and construction.

Industrial expansion of any sort, the Commission was reminded, invariably causes housing shortages. Prices for land and homes, and especially rents, rise significantly. The reverse is true, of course, when industrial activity decreases or ceases altogether. In such circumstances homes, representing a family's largest investment, suddenly become near worthless as their owners move on to find new employment.

Northerners clearly recognize that major factors aggravating their housing problems are the problems created by standards and designs imposed upon them by bureaucrats who, for the most part, live in a different environment. Whereas in southern Ontario underground buried services such as sewer, power and water installations are relatively easily provided, in the north, the Precambrian Shield necessitates the use of great amounts of dynamite and money to effect comparable results. Much to the dismay of northerners, Ontario housing and service standards, which must be met for new housing, are uniform throughout the province, resulting in very high building costs in the north. In fact, merely to service a residential lot can cost in excess of \$20,000.00.

Construction problems in the north are also compounded by the high costs of materials transported from the south and the chronic shortage of full-time skilled labour in the area.

Ironically, even though the north is extremely sparsely populated, a recurrent complaint to the Commission was that there is a shortage of land for housing construction. This seeming contradiction stems from the great uncertainty regarding how and from whom to seek land title, as well as from the confusion regarding province-wide townsite development regulations. Many complained that much Crown land is currently unavailable for housing construction.

As with many things which affect the day-to-day lives of northerners, housing considerations are controlled from outside the north. Southern influences, more than any other factors, say observers, hinder the realization of northern solutions to northern problems.

Housing a Hobbled Industry in the North

In 1978, housing, adequate to take care of local needs, is a high priority concern throughout the province but particularly so for communities in northern Ontario.

In milder climates, shelter from wind, sun and rain, protection from insects and provision for privacy are certainly necessary, desirable and convenient. In northern climates, shelter to sustain life in a frequently hostile environment is essential. And the nature of that shelter reflects strongly on the quality of life available to the northerner. This quality is weakened mainly by shortage, inadequacy and difficulty in procuring land and gaining services. In sum, the Commission learned that housing north of 50 today reflects an inappropriate fit of southern plans and standards to northern realities.

Housing shortage is felt most keenly in those areas which are currently undergoing industrial expansion. A mine spokesman in Red Lake said:

"It is important now, and has been for some time, that Balmertown be expanded to meet the housing requirements of workers and their families. At present, we cannot provide sufficient and conveniently located housing for the number of employees which we require to maintain our existing operation. Eleven employees of the Company right now are without proper housing; eight more require larger accommodation which is unavailable. These demands are over and above the housing requirements of the 15 additional employees which we could and would like to hire at present. We estimate that there is a current requirement of at least 100 more homes in Balmertown."

(Campbell Red Lake Mines, Red Lake, p. 611)

A representative of the Nakina Chamber of Commerce complained that it was difficult to attract professional people to provide needed services:

"We have even had teachers who have been forced to forego the contract because they could find no place to live in Nakina."

(Nakina Chamber of Commerce, Nakina, p. 1515)

A shortage of rental accommodation in the north affects young couples, elderly people, temporary residents and those who cannot afford to purchase homes. Housing is frequently owned by the major employer and retirement from the job also means moving from one's home:

"There is a further element to the housing needs of the area, and that is the desire for housing by retired employees. This might seem, at first glance, to be a secondary problem. But in fact, it must be an important part of any consideration of housing accommodation. Retiring employees have spent most of their lives in the area; most would prefer to stay, rather than leave their homes and friends to relocate elsewhere."

(Campbell Red Lake Mines, Red Lake, p. 614)

A native liaison worker at Pickle Lake said that the quality of housing, while usually adequate for non-natives, is not so for natives:

"Native housing in Pickle Lake is in a class of sub-standard. The majority of native families are living in housing built in the year of 1930 when Central Patricia Gold Mines was at its peak. These homes were abandoned by the employees when the mine closed in 1953. At that time at Umex, two native employees and their families were living in Umex housing. Others lived in makeshift cabins on the perimeter of the community. Three native families spent their winter in camp at the outskirts of Pickle Lake last winter. As a result, one person died from pneumonia. In most populated native communities at Central Patricia, approximately 90% of the native people still haul their drinking water from the Kawanigan River, the same river into which the town sewage treatment plant is dumping its waste."

(Henry Munro, Pickle Lake, p. 1754)

Housing on reserves is often inferior:

"The Indian people moved across the river with the knowledge that they would be receiving new homes with running water. Twenty-one homes were built and running water installed. Our new homes looked good to live in, but today now need replacement. No way can these houses compare with the log houses our forefathers built. Those were stronger and warmer."

(Mattagami Reserve, Timmins, p. 1108)

Native groups are attempting to improve the quality of their homes. The Summer Beaver community of Fort Hope Band reported proudly:

"This community is quite unique in that all of the buildings on the reserve are constructed from logs."

(Chief Charlie Okeese, Geraldton, p. 1369)

An architect in Sioux Lookout presented photographs to the Commission depicting native attempts to upgrade their buildings through the use of indigenous materials:

"This house was built in 1975 by the native people using local materials in an attempt to develop some sort of relationship to the culture and the use of natural materials . . . Northern Ontario can really get into and really begin to look at their own vernacular and get out of this hodgepodge of temporary looking shacks. When you look at the northern communities . . . right across northern Ontario, the expression is temporary and impermanent; and a log building, in my belief, is not something temporary. It is indicative of character that is going to last for generations to come."

(Michael Quince, Sioux Lookout, p. 358)

The third problem, that of land acquisition, is made difficult because of red tape. Many complaints were voiced to the Commission about the irrelevance of southern considerations in acquiring land on which to build:

"It is almost impossible to obtain even the most simple severance in less than six months. We feel that there must be some way land transactions can be expedited. Why should we in the northwest have to travel all the way to Toronto to try and expedite land transactions?"

(Improvement District of Pickle Lake, Pickle Lake, p. 1673)

One northern resident exploded:

"I operate an agency at Savant Lake and I have a man down there who works for me, and he has a wife and child and I have a house trailer for him. And do you think I can get any place to set it up? And there is more red tape and bullshit that goes through the government."

(Stan Werbiski, Pickle Lake, p. 1745)

A particular bone of contention is the restriction on the use of Crown land. A spokesman for the Red Lake Businessmen's Association complained:

"One thing that this area abounds in is free space. There is land almost everywhere you look, undeveloped land, and yet for the residents of this area one of the more difficult things to do is to obtain your own piece of property on which to erect your own home or business. The reason for this hardship is a government policy which, in essence, freezes the sale of all Crown land. In an area which has been developed for less than 50 years, the amount of freehold land that was available before the policy was invoked was very minimal. It is my view that the unavailability of Crown land is a severe deterrent to the legitimate hopes and aspirations of many longtime and permanent residents of this region."

(Red Lake Businessmen's Association, Red Lake, p. 690)

In Geraldton, the Lake Nipigon Metis Association said:

"(Housing) could be assisted by simply letting people of the north have the right to have title to Crown land. We want land on a controlled basis so we wouldn't have to squat on land. Squatters are responsible for building tar paper shacks, because they are in fear of Natural Resources telling them to move and having their little shacks burnt."

(Lake Nipigon Metis Association, Geraldton, p. 1389)

Other people would prefer to live outside the communities to cut costs:

"When development takes place, land becomes even more difficult to obtain. In most cases the only land available is within established communities where the building codes, costs of servicing lots, building of roads, etc., make the cost of the building of a home prohibitive. Some of us prefer to live simply, on unserviced land outside of established communities."

(Ear Falls Metis and Non-Status Indian Association, Ear Falls, p. 838)

People who work the land cannot afford a home on it:

"Some of our people have been cutting trees in the bush for years, and today they cannot afford to buy the lumber to build a small house when they also have to buy a small piece of land to put it on. Before, we often built on unorganized land; today, the government policy does not allow this right."

(Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association, Kenora, p. 2639)

The Red Lake Businessmen's Association reminded the Commission that the reason unorganized land comes cheaper is that it is also unserviced land. Land servicing, especially when it must conform to standards designed for greatly different terrain, is expensive:

"That this area is uniquely different from southern Ontario should be self-evident. And yet, we are subject to precisely the same standards, criteria and methods for developing municipal services for the delivery of water and for the removal of waste and sewage as in southern Ontario. And this works a real hardship to this region in that the cost of providing services of a similar nature to those found in southern Ontario is exorbitant up here due to the fact that we have an absolute minimum of topsoil and overburden and we must blast our way through bedrock to install these services."

(Red Lake Businessmen's Association, Red Lake, p. 691)

Water and sewage systems are a major pre-occupation:

"We live in the Shield area of the province. Housing rules made for southern Ontario are not necessarily good for us. A point for example would be the provision of water and sewers. Our town site of Madsen has operated for over 30 years using a utilidor above ground system for water and sewer services. We have had less problems and shut-offs than Red Lake which is forced to operate on a buried system according to federal and provincial housing regulations. We live on top of rock. To bury something 15 to 18 feet takes a lot of dynamite."

(Madsen Community Association, Red Lake, p. 543)

A small expansion in northern towns calls for unbearable cost:

"Urban standards, however appropriate they may be elsewhere, are extremely expensive and cannot be economically justified in a town of relatively small population. Some time ago, the expansion of Balmer-town was considered — an increase of approximately 200 houses. Planning authorities, however, required an outlay for a sewage plant of about \$1.7 million which could not be justified in a town of 1,200 people."
(Campbell Red Lake Mines, Red Lake, p. 612)

At Kenora, the Royal Commission listened to a brief by the Unorganized Communities Association of North-western Ontario (UCANO-West). This group's indictment of southern standards was representative of the frustration and anger of many people in the north, increasingly intolerant of imposed solutions:

"Nor do we dispute the need for standards of buildings, water supply, and sewage disposal. But we must dispute the inapplicability of urban, high density, and southern standards to remote, often impoverished and geographically unique communities such as ours. That inane and unrealistic burden it places upon us, is as startlingly clear to those who live here, as it is clearly startling to those who enforce it."

(UCANO-West, Kenora, p. 2992)



Recreational Facilities, Programs Lacking

Recreation, particularly outdoor sports, is a valued part of northern Ontario life. Yet recreational facilities are sorely lacking in small communities. There are discouraging limits to local resources, both from the municipal tax base and from industrial and private donors. Speakers at the Commission's hearings felt that the special recreational needs of the north should be addressed more generously by agencies of the provincial and federal governments.

If "Inside" Could Match "Outdoors" . . .

Perhaps nowhere as much as in the north do Ontarians speak so lovingly of the land, its aesthetics and its recreational appeal. The Commission was told by northerners that they are surrounded by beauty and enriched by nature. The feathery tamaracks, the rustling birches, the upright pines, the sparkling waters, the blue sky, all bespeak serenity and relaxation. But, the Commission was also told, one must have more than landscape to fulfill one's recreational needs. The need for a good time with one's friends, or the restoration of one's spirit often calls for social occasions, events and activities.

In their natural setting, northerners have provided themselves with many outlets for rest and relaxation (some considerably less restful than others).

Outdoor recreation in both summer and winter is enhanced by easy access to the bush. If a crowded sandy beach is not to someone's liking, he can travel a very short distance to find an isolated lake for himself or for a party of friends. If he wants to fish or hunt, he has at his doorstep what many outsiders voyage hundreds of miles to find.

In winter there is always enough snow for the avid skier or snowmobiler. Even very small communities can provide a skating surface. The intense cold ensures that water will freeze quickly and smoothly. Organized winter sports such as hockey are widely supported in the north.

The out-doors is also exploited at festival times. Natives and non-native communities alike organize outings to attract their own residents and those from other areas. Barbecues, corn roasts, baseball games, track and field events, fiddle contests and dancing all contribute greatly to the enjoyment of those in attendance. Native groups also add such activities as duck plucking, canoe racing and arm wrestling.

Indian pow-wows of dancing, drumming and singing pass on cultural traditions from generation to generation. These events are a social get-together for Indian people while providing an opportunity for non-native observers to become acquainted with Indian customs.

When it comes to the pursuit of cultural and indoor forms of recreation, however, the north is less well supplied with resources. While local groups may form amateur theatrical organizations, professional companies do not often tour the far north. While local people sing and play music, professional concerts occur infrequently.

Libraries, art galleries and museums north of 50 tend to be rarities and limited in scope. The Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation has instituted the Outreach Ontario and Festival Ontario programs to promote art shows, science exhibits, lectures, demonstrations, film festivals and historical displays in conjunction with community groups. The Art Gallery of Ontario, the Science Circus of the Ontario Science Centre, the Royal Botanical Gardens, and the Royal Ontario Museum have all participated in attempts to expand their services to northern Ontarians. The difficulty of transporting materials has, however, tended to restrict expansion to the larger centres just south of 50.

The low revenues from the small tax base of northern communities provide little or no financial help in the provision of recreational facilities and services. Northerners called upon the provincial government to develop special policies to help set them on an equal footing with the rest of Ontario.



Where Need Greatest—Least Being Done

The most frequent comments made about recreation to the Commission concerned the lack of adequate facilities. Repeatedly, northerners complained that their communities lacked even basic equipment in a region where isolation and climate make leisure time facilities particularly crucial to the social, physical and mental well-being of its inhabitants.

Clearly, the major obstacle inhibiting construction of recreational facilities is the lack of funds. In many small northern communities, an adequate local tax base required to fund recreation simply does not exist.

Without an industrial tax base it is impossible for the residents of a small community to raise enough money, and it becomes necessary to turn to the government for assistance:

"The people of Moosonee have commenced a fund-raising drive for the purpose of erecting an arena and curling club in town with an artificial ice surface. The estimated cost of such a facility is approximately \$900,000.00. The government of Ontario had indicated a financial interest in this proposed arena. However, it will still be necessary for a private fund-raising drive to generate approximately \$400,000.00 in donations if ever this arena is to be built. For Moosonee and its residents, this is an almost insurmountable task. Even assuming that such a facility could be built, it will be a strain on the meager tax base of the town to provide adequate maintenance for the arena."

(James Bay Education Centre, Moosonee, p. 3134)

Recreation is seen not as a luxury but as a necessity both in attracting inhabitants and keeping them happy once they are there:

"To a town as far north and as isolated from large centres as Nakina is, recreation becomes vital. A small town with a growing population can attract workers of quality only if the prospective workers are able to see the possibility of freedom from boredom in off duty hours."

(Terrence Brian Swanson, Nakina, p. 1565)

Thus, isolation combined with climate make recreational facilities much more important in the north than they are in the south, where they are abundant:

"The needs of the residents of the Tri-Municipal community for a large number and variety of recreational facilities are related to the isolation and the long winter period. The need for buildings and programs is probably greater than those in southern communities. The maintenance of sound and stable community life is related to these facilities."

(Tri-Municipal Committee, Red Lake, p. 474)

The therapeutic value of recreation, both physically and mentally, was recognized. Swimming in particular was recognized as beneficial, but the northern climate limits outdoor swimming severely:

"There is not a single public swimming pool north of the 50th parallel in the province of Ontario . . . I am not referring to 50-meter pools like you will find on the campus of Lakehead University or even 25-meter pools that you will find in Fort Frances and Atikokan. I am talking about small but useful teaching pools that can provide therapy and relaxation for the people north of the 50th parallel. We have approximately 20 good swimming days per year in Sioux Lookout."

(Howard Lockhart, Sioux Lookout, p. 335)

It was felt that if adequate facilities existed, people would get involved, whether participating or organizing, and a great social need would be filled:

"Here in Moosonee, a great deal more people would be involved in the programs offered if only we were to have a decent facility in which to participate. With a regulation size arena, we would have more people socially involved, whether it be in recreational activities or just to sit on various committees. Recreation is a very high priority in this community but there is a great lack of funds for it. Recreation is a must here because of the very high unemployment problem."

(Moosonee Recreation Committee, Moosonee, p. 3173)

In some instances, however, the mere existence of recreation facilities did not automatically involve people. Native people living in or near the predominantly white communities of the north felt cut off from what recreation activities did exist:

"In terms of social recreational facilities, they are practically non-existent in the Pickle Lake area. When any recreation activities come in, non-natives seem to dominate the activities and many natives seem reluctant to even participate. Last year marked the first time that the Osnaburgh and Pickle Lake natives participated in the Pickle Lake and Savant Lake broomball tournaments. The main and the only source of recreation for the residents of the native community has narrowed down to local beer parlours, liquor outlets, although excessive consumption of alcohol is common through a cross-section of all residents."

(Henry Munro, Pickle Lake, p. 1755)

In response to this problem a Native Community Centre is being built jointly by natives and non-natives of Pickle Lake:

"It's going to organize recreational and social programs for native residents, for everybody, visitors of all ages."

(Henry Munro, Pickle Lake, p. 1757)

In isolated native communities which are not adjacent to white communities, recreation facilities have been minimal to non-existent:

"In the past, there has been no real recreation in isolated Indian communities in northwestern Ontario. Recreation has been limited basically to hockey and baseball over the past few years. The children of these communities learn to skate on river and lake ice. There have been no facilities, no equipment and little or no money available to these communities to develop social, cultural and recreational programs . . . In some communities there are no buildings for recreation purposes. Out of the 23 bands, approximately 75% do not have dressing rooms or adequate recreation facilities. For example, at Big Grassy Reserve, the children ride in a water truck to and from hockey practices, approximately 40 miles return."

(Treaty #3, brief entitled Recreation submitted to the R.C.N.E., p. 1)

The problem of transportation to sports events is an issue not limited only to native communities. The great distances between towns in the north make organization difficult and travel costs almost prohibitive:

"The sport and athletic development of our young people is seriously hampered, or becomes nonexistent because of our isolation and travel expense."

(Howard Lockhart, Sioux Lookout, p. 336)

Not only are transportation costs higher in the north, but so are the maintenance costs of what facilities do exist. Energy costs, in particular, are extremely high:

"With the ever-increasing energy costs to what few indoor recreational facilities do exist above or near the 50th parallel, serious consideration is being given to curtailing or even eliminating activities in existing facilities . . . I wish I could give you a breakdown in the increase in our costs in our Memorial Arena here. And it is not a heated building, we heat only the portion we work in and the lobby. The problems are that here in Sioux Lookout we have a low tax base. We have no tax, or primarily industry tax base, in the town of Sioux Lookout."

(Howard Lockhart, Sioux Lookout, p. 335)

Many northern communities felt that the financial assistance they received from the government did not fully recognize the specific needs and difficulties associated with recreation in the north:

"In Northern Ontario, the Ministry of Culture and Recreation's grants for operational and salary costs are much the same as in southern Ontario where the costs would be much less and fund-raising is much easier. Grants should be increased for communities in northern Ontario. Wintario grants should also be increased because of the lack of fund-raising again."

(Moosonee Recreation Committee, Moosonee, p. 3174)

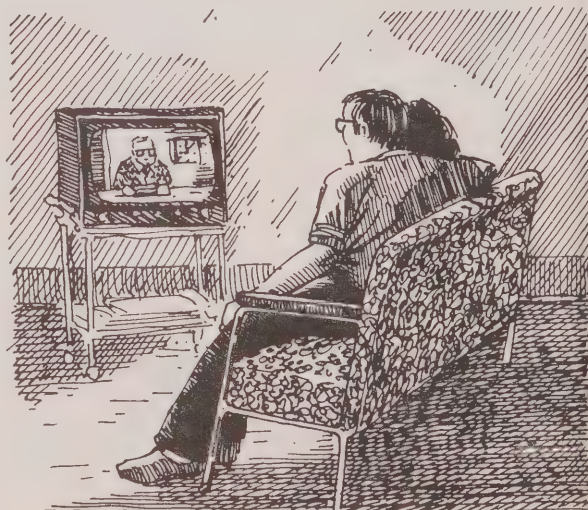
There were also complaints about recreational facilities having to meet southern regulations which are either not relevant in the north or else increase costs exorbitantly. Residents of Nakina urged that their curling rink was a victim of such circumstances.

"Due to a study made far in the south of our province using southern statistics regarding snowfall and humidity, our curling rink has been closed . . . We agree that safety is important, but the criteria should be clearly established with due respect to northern conditions."

(Terrence Brian Swanson, Nakina, p. 1567)

Another case where northerners felt that they were hard done by as a result of southern-made regulations was a 1976 amendment to the Ontario Mining Tax Act. The ruling disallowed as tax deductions "social expenditures" made by mining companies. Previously, expenses by mining companies on recreational and housing facilities in northern towns were deemed deductible expenses. When tax deductions for such purposes were no longer allowed, construction of these facilities by mining companies was curtailed.

Happily, at least in the above instance, the south was listening. The 1978 Ontario budget proposed that operating and maintenance costs of social assets once again be allowed as a deduction, while depreciation on social assets would continue to be disallowed.



Transportation and Survival Synonymous in North

From the waterways and railways which traditionally opened the north, to the roads and airlines which presently serve northern Ontario, transportation is a dominant aspect of northern living. The Royal Commission on the Northern Environment heard many submissions about transportation-related problems, about the high cost of travel and freight, about air safety and the lack of rail service to isolated settlements.

By What Means and at What Cost?

Whatever form it takes, transportation is a major concern and preoccupation for northerners. Many residents, for example, are nearly totally dependent on air service. People on northern reserves rely on airplanes, not only in medical emergencies but for delivery of goods and equipment and for access to the outside world.

Concern about air safety was widely expressed. The Commission was told that greater safety precautions are taken in northern Manitoba than in Ontario, and that the Ontario provincial agencies, such as the Ministry of Transportation and Communications, are prevented from intervening on this question. The federal government department, Transport Canada, has jurisdiction over air safety while the Ontario Ministry of Transportation and Communications assists communities in building and maintaining airstrips and supplying infrastructures.

Questions arising from rail service policies, another federal responsibility, were also brought to the attention of the Commission. In 1977, the federal government announced the establishment of a new venture, Via Rail, which would combine the CN and CP railways to provide more efficient service for Canadians.

Many northern residents told the Commission how important the existing CN line was in their area, enabling them to obtain medical attention, goods and services which would otherwise be unavailable — or certainly not quickly procurable.

The Commission was reminded that surface travel in northern Ontario requires a variety of machine-powered vehicles such as snowmobiles, boats and trucks. Yet the cost of gasoline, \$4.00 a gallon on the James Bay coast, can be prohibitive.

The winter maintenance of northern roads was criticized. Current highway neglect was a topic for irony, described by some as an ingenious method of providing rest stops at the side of the road by allowing the driver and car to slide off the icy surface into the ditch. The Commission was reminded that some northerners went to jail to protest the government's ban on studded tires a few years ago. The Commission was asked why separate and relevant standards, appropriate to the north, cannot be established.

Through the good offices of the Commission, northerners said they hoped to impress governments to consider urgently measures to ensure the safety, reliability and reasonable cost of transportation in the north.

Location Presents A Transportation Problem

In an area as vast as Ontario north of 50, transportation modes have shaped development patterns, determined the location of many communities and affected the degree of isolation in which their residents live.

The Northeastern Ontario Municipalities Action Group told the Commission of its conviction that transportation was the key to the future of the north:

"If we can solve the movement of people by modern yet economic means at rates, facilities and services which look after the needs of all sectors of that population, we will thus bring amenities to our people to aid them to live here and stay to develop this great resource land. If we can solve the abnormally high freight costs experienced by this region, we will remove one of the main bars that has heretofore made us uncompetitive with other areas, not only in expanding the employment base which we already have (and which is not growing), and not only providing a tool to bring about more future employment in new areas, but also as a means to reduce some of the costs of living in the north. Our future hinges on improvements in the transportation of people and goods."

(Northeastern Ontario Municipalities Action Group, Timmins, p. 2333)

While the future may hinge on improvements in transportation, the present has certainly been affected by past transportation patterns. A significant factor in the settlement pattern of the north was the railway which stretched from east to west close to the 50th parallel. Built in 1915, the National Transcontinental later became part of the Canadian National system. Along the line, settlements appeared, many almost entirely populated by railway employees. For these communities the railway was their lifeline, and would continue to be even after other industries located along the railway. It is ironic that, as one northerner put it:

"The initial penetration of the region by the railway construction brought its development essentially by default in that the purpose was merely to traverse the area on the way west."

(Northwestern Ontario Associated Chambers of Commerce, Sioux Lookout, p. 134)

Nevertheless, the railway gave birth to a number of small yet permanent communities, although only Sioux Lookout and Nakina continue as railway operating centres today. And while the smaller hamlets along the line have lost much of their role in railway servicing, they have not lost their dependence on the railway for a link to the outside world or between communities. It is for this reason that the people of northwestern Ontario reacted with distress to the announcement in 1977 that

daily transcontinental service on this northern CN line would be discontinued. Via Rail had been created by the federal government to combine the services provided by CN and CP in the interests of more efficient train travel. Northerners were not pleased with the verdict, arguing their much-used rail service would be lost while the service would be rerouted:

"... where it will parallel all of the already existing train services, bus services, other road services and air services."

(Northwestern Ontario Associated Chambers of Commerce, Sioux Lookout, p. 138)

Or as a CN employee put it:

"Now we find ourselves back in a position, here in Sioux Lookout and down as far as Armstrong and Nakina and Hornepayne and Foleyet, right down to Capreol, then west of us, of course, from Sioux Lookout to Redditt and then into Winnipeg, where there aren't any buses or there aren't any airlines travelling unless we wish to go to Dryden, to drive over there, that we now find Via Rail is going to utilize the CPR tracks... I think that Via Rail should be taking a closer look at the population who are not being serviced by other means of communication or travel."

(Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Division 654, Sioux Lookout, p. 322)

Not only would people be inconvenienced by the curtailment of transcontinental service, it was argued, but serious social impacts would be felt as well. According to the Ontario Native Women's Association, native people would be particularly affected:

"The CNR has a great impact on our lives and our people. It is our main link with the rest of the province. Our family life is and has been dependent upon the CNR passenger service as long as it has been in existence. It is also our livelihood as our resources are so limited that we are forced to use it for our communication, transportation, economic, social, health and welfare, education. Our question is what will become of these people? Are decision-makers aware of the consequences?"

(Ontario Native Women's Association, Geraldton, p. 1325)

A woman in Sioux Lookout told the Commission that decrease in rail services would mean unemployment for her family:

"I have four sons and a husband working on the railroad, and three probably will be affected by this run-through or taking off the passenger service."

(Laura Switzer, Sioux Lookout, p. 158)

Some, like the Town of Sioux Lookout, were relatively optimistic, however:

"In transportation, we want to see the town's role as a major rail traffic point continue. We anticipate re-instatement of daily rail passenger service as oil prices drive personal motoring and air travel back into the luxury bracket."

(Town of Sioux Lookout, Sioux Lookout, p. 35)

Discontinuation of railway service, however, is not the only issue of concern to northerners with respect to the railway. Many complained about rail freight rates which they claimed were detrimental to balanced industrial development of the north. As Ed Deibel of the Northern Ontario Heritage Party described it:

"The system of freight rates within Canada operates so as to frustrate, to a considerable degree, our regional development programs. This results from the practice of charging lower freight rates to transport bulk, low value, unprocessed raw materials and charging higher rates as the degree of processing and manufacturing increases. This practice has two effects. Firstly, it has the effect of encouraging shipments of relatively unprocessed, raw materials from the producing region, thereby rendering it difficult to establish processing and fabrication facilities in the region, and that is applying direct to northern Ontario. Secondly, it has the effect of increasing the cost of shipments from other areas of the country to that region, thereby undermining all efforts to establish processing and fabrication facilities, or indeed establishing secondary manufacturing in northern Ontario."

(Northern Ontario Heritage Party, Timmins, p. 1034)

The Member of the Legislature for Cochrane South, Alan Pope, also felt that a re-examination of the freight rate structure was called for:

"Whether or not it is time to examine a new concept of the bearing of transportation costs, and there are various concepts which I assume will have access to things like unit freight system, I believe a review of the structure itself will be in order as well as the rates . . . One of the probable consequences would probably be the complete reversal of the freight rate structure, so that it would almost penalize shipment of raw materials south rather than finished materials south."

(Alan Pope, MPP, Timmins, p. 2356)

Some northerners believed that if the provincial government were to take a more active role in rail transport in the north, matters could be greatly improved and saw the Ontario Northland Transportation Commission as a model for this:

"Ontario Northland is a transportation system that is owned and operated by the province of Ontario. Supposedly it is the people's system. What reason can be advanced for not extending this system into the north-western part of our province? I am sure the extension of this system could help to provide the incentives that are necessary for industry to locate in our area of the province."

(Town of Geraldton, Geraldton, p. 1343)

Another northwesterner urged the same thing:

"The Ontario Northland Railway played a major role in opening up the northeastern portion of Ontario for mining, lumbering and farming. This expansion nurtured the many support industries that have flourished and grown until they were no longer totally relying on the original industry that caused them to be born. If the Ontario Northland Railway had also branches in the northwest, this industrial growth would surely have followed a similar course and would be a bright element for the economy in the northwest. Although many years overdue, it is not too late for this transportation network."

(John Evans, Geraldton, p. 1433)

While the people in the northwest were envious of the Ontario Northland service in the northeast, there was some indication that the people in the northeast felt that the system could be expanded and improved:

"At present the Ontario Northland Transportation Commission operates the rail facilities between Moosonee and North Bay whereas the CNR operates the facilities between Hearst and Cochrane and between North Bay and Toronto. The federal government and its agencies, such as the CNR, continually tell us that their interests lie in an east-west direction across the whole of Canada. If the Ontario government was to acquire running rights for all purposes over these north-south rail facilities, all of which belong to all of the people as governmental assets, we would at least have an opportunity to ensure that movement of people and goods would have less hurdles to overcome towards an objective of maximum efficiency, at minimum cost, than with the present hopscotch operation between two governments."

(Northeastern Ontario Municipalities Action Group, Timmins, p. 2335)

Problems with freight rates and jurisdictional questions are not restricted to rail transport. Truck transport also poses problems in this respect:

The experts tell us that the main reason why our (truck) freight costs are higher than elsewhere is because of a lack of competition and excessive regulation. The time has come, in our view, where there is

no further need to regulate highway carriers, but to let the marketplace dictate fair prices and service. The fact that there has been close regulation of carriers has resulted in less competition and, thereby the possibility that our freight costs are being held at artificially high levels."

(Northeastern Ontario Municipalities Action Group, Timmins, p. 2335)

A particularly inefficient aspect of truck transport in the north is the high incidence of empty back-haul. This is partially a function of regulation — private carriers are allowed to carry only their own goods, usually resulting in an empty back-haul for lack of a return load. However, it is also a result of the limited highway network in the north. People in the Red Lake-Balmertown area were anxious to have a road built through to Winnipeg, one of the benefits of which would be:

"Freight rates would be reduced. The problem now is that there is very little back-haul and thus the present high rates to compensate for lack of revenue on return trips."

(Red Lake Businessmen's Association, Red Lake, p. 581)

The desire for a highway west to Winnipeg was a popular one in the Red Lake area:

"Costs of essential commodities are reflected in haulage per mile rate with dead-haul empty return. It seems this situation could be eased by a highway westward from Red Lake to connect with Highway 315 to Winnipeg and eliminate the dead-haul and the energy crisis that exists."

(Ormond Sharpe, Red Lake, p. 711)

Empty back-haul is a two-way problem, affecting both the bringing in of commodities and the sending out of raw or semi-processed products. Spruce Falls Power and Paper Co. stressed the high freight costs it faces, both rail and truck:

"In addition . . . truck transport provides many of our competitors with lower distribution costs. There is insufficient truck traffic to our area to result in an extensive back-haul truck movement, so these rates must remain high."

(Spruce Falls Power and Paper Co., Timmins, p. 1174)

Apart from the movement of goods on the highways of the north, most northerners were concerned about the movement of people. Many condemned the condition and extent of existing roads. Highway 584 between Geraldton and Nakina came under particular attack:

"I hate to be sarcastic, but it seems to be the only mode of address suitable to the subject of winter tra-

vel on Highway 584. That stretch of road between Geraldton and Nakina has to be the longest skate-athon route in the world. Praise must be extended to the Ministry of Transportation and Communications for the ingenious method they have of making rest-points. Simply allow vehicles to slide off the road and pack down the offending snow. Hopefully, the ministry will find a little sand in northern Ontario so that they no longer have to import it from California."

(Terrence Brian Swanson, Nakina, p. 1569)

Sand and gravel are everywhere but there is little used on icy northern roads, according to another northerner:

"Northern Ontario is a virtual storehouse of sand and gravel. As a matter of fact, there are gravel pits here at Nakina. And yet we cannot get sand and gravel put on our roads in the winter time. If you complain to the Ministry of Transportation about it, they say, 'We have a quota. Only so much sand is allowed for the roads and we may not exceed that amount.' It is almost as though sand were a valuable commodity or a rare item in the north; and it isn't. Why do they have to have quotas for the northern usage, especially when icy conditions are so severe? Highway 584 is our main link with the outside world right now and it is vital to the progress of the community that that link be maintained in the best condition possible."

(Nakina Chamber of Commerce, Nakina, p. 1521)

Complaints with respect to road conditions were not limited to Nakina:

"This year I have not seen any salt on the roads. Could this be due to a salt cut back in southern Ontario? Why is the salt cut back? Because it affects the lawns and orchards in southern Ontario. Believe me, you won't see any orchards or lawns along Highway 599. There are salt cutbacks for all of Ontario. Standards which class our only road of escape as a snow-packed maintenance and tell us we can't use studded tires because they tear up the pavement. What pavement? These are prime examples of the fact that people sitting behind a desk in Toronto who cannot visualize what northwestern Ontario looks like, to say anything of Pickle Lake, should not be making the rules and regulations for this area."

(Rhys Rissman, Pickle Lake, p. 1769)

Better roads were seen as a way to reduce high transportation costs:

"There is, and has been, a growing feeling of residents of northern Ontario that the revenue realized by the . . . Treasury Department should be returned in a greater measure in the form of road construction to ease the excessive transportation costs which obtain here."

(Mayor of Smooth Rock Falls, Timmins, p. 2316)

In urban communities in the south, residents have the option of using public transport. Northerners have little choice but to drive a private car or take a taxi — a costly but commonplace mode of transport in the north. A senior citizen in Geraldton described the hardships this imposes:

"There is no public transportation in smaller communities, yet people must pick up their mail because there is no mail delivery. Government subsidizes public transportation in cities, therefore the government should lower the gasoline tax in smaller communities where they do not subsidize public transportation . . . Elderly and handicapped people have a very difficult time getting around during the long cold winter months, usually from October till May. The high price of gasoline makes taxi service expensive for those living on fixed incomes. Elderly people in cities usually ride the government-subsidized public transportation system free of charge. The government should try to equalize local transportation opportunities to small communities."

(Geraldton Senior Citizens, Geraldton, p. 1381)

While non-native northerners called for more and better roads, many native people expressed apprehension regarding the effect of roads on previously isolated native communities. Such roads appear to have contributed to social problems. The Chief of Grassy Narrows Reserve described what the coming of the road meant to that community:

"In 1960 the Jones Road was built and came near the reserve. . . The accessible road to Kenora brought problems, many problems. Even though our people had liquor permits, a limit of intoxicants you can buy, it did not stop taxi drivers from bootlegging and coming on the reserve . . . The Jones Road broke the isolation factor which helped the preservation of a way of life."

(Grassy Narrows Reserve, Whitedog, p. 2791)

Moosonee is now faced with the possibility of a road linking it to the rest of Ontario, and the predominantly native population is of mixed opinions on whether such a road is desirable:

"Many of the native Cree population are not enthusiastic about the building of the road. They feel that it would be the end of tranquility as it is known today in the Lowlands. They feel it would be the end of their beautiful and precious wilderness. On the other side of the coin, many people, including teachers, feel that the road would help to dispel a feeling of differentness, of not belonging to the rest of Ontario, of isolation, of almost a fear of venturing beyond Moosonee because of the difficulty and expense of returning to visit family and friends."

(James Bay Education Centre, Moosonee, p. 3140)

Air transport, on the other hand, is an area in which native people are anxious to see expanded and improved service. The extent to which remote northern communities are dependent on the airplane was explained to the Commission:

"Our communities have no roads; we are dependent on the airplane beyond the range of our boats and skidoos. Airplane service is not cheap. It costs about the same to fly the 275 miles from Sioux Lookout to Big Trout Lake as it costs to fly from Toronto to Thunder Bay, a distance more than three times as far, so that we must charter planes to reach the smaller communities. Flying is dependent on weather, as you are sure to learn when you come to visit us. Even in clear weather our smaller communities without airstrips are isolated for several weeks during freeze-up and break-up."

(Wa-Wa-Ta Native Communications Society, Moosonee, p. 3204)

In Sandy Lake, frustration was expressed about the lack of say that Indian people have in the air services they receive:

"Too many decisions are made without even asking us how we feel about it. We have two daily flights from Sioux Lookout to Sandy Lake, but they arrive at exactly the same time. Until recently we had direct flights to and from Big Trout Lake two or three times a week. This was good for two of the largest communities in the district to be connected this way. Suddenly, without asking us, this service got dropped; and now, in order to get from Sandy Lake to the Western Regional Office of Treaty # 9 which covers our area, it takes two days."

(Sandy Lake Band, Sandy Lake, p. 2420)

Native people are not the only ones frustrated by the licencing arrangements of the federal government. Northern air carriers also expressed their disfavour with licencing decisions. For example, Slate Falls Airways described how two years before they had applied for a Class II licence¹ to fly between Sioux Lookout, Dryden, Pickle Lake, Big Trout Lake, Round Lake, Sandy Lake, Pikangikum and Red Lake. In September 1977, they received a negative decision:

"The loser in this decision was not Slate Falls Airways but the many Ojibway-Cree peoples of the north, plus the doctors and nurses and other peoples who must travel into the north to dispense their services. Mr. Commissioner, I say with full belief that the Federal Air Transport Committee does not know the licencing needs of northwestern Ontario."

(Slate Falls Airways, Sioux Lookout, p. 217)

¹An air carrier holding this licence must, under all conditions, except for reasons of maintenance or poor weather, fly his published route regardless of the amount of traffic.

Patricia Air Transport asserted that overlicencing in northern Ontario makes it impossible to develop an efficient and rational air service network:

"It is our contention that with the granting of excessive unit toll and passenger licences, that the existing carriers cannot provide sophisticated machinery and a more comprehensive delivery system because of the rather limited and restricted market that we supply . . . Presently there are six competing airline companies, all vying for their share of the market in northwestern Ontario."

(Patricia Air Transport Ltd., Sioux Lookout, p. 317)

Licensing practises were not the only thing for which the federal government was criticized. It was generally felt that concerns over air safety in the remote north were a result more of lack of navigational aids, weather reporting and airport facilities than any negligence on the part of northern bush pilots. The federal government has the responsibility to install such equipment, and there was considerable resentment expressed, both by northern pilots and their customers at the federal government's inaction in this respect. The Ontario Northland Transportation Commission, a provincially-owned and operated transportation system, spoke about the situation:

"In the north, and particularly the further north you get, it suffers from an appalling lack of adequate navigational aids, weather facilities and all-weather day-night airports . . . I think for the first time the federal authority is slowly coming around to the belief that the density related criteria used in southern Canada to justify expenditures must be altered to fit the special needs of northern Ontario."

(Ontario Northland Transportation Commission, Pickle Lake, p. 1623)

And on air safety:

"As we all know there has been much hand-wringing and finger-pointing of late and accusations have been made and there is much talk of investigations . . . Notwithstanding the individual merits of these things, this inquisitional approach to the problem-solving, in our view, is like the man who uses sandpaper to remove a spot caused by measles. It is neither effective nor cosmetic. Air carriers at present are struggling as best they can against the primitive environment and often unfair and unpredictable monopolies. Like the frontier doctor operating without facilities, these operators deserve understanding and not abuse, in our view."

(Ontario Northland Transportation Commission, Pickle Lake, p. 1625)

This feeling of concern for local air transportation operators was shared by other northerners:

"I think it is time that the press and others laid off the local air transportation operators because I know I spent 17 years in this area and for 12 of those years I relied daily on aircraft, and I can very definitely say that the air service that we have now is much improved over what we had in 1960. There is a long way to go yet, but I do believe that a large part of the improvements cannot come about until such time as the airports are brought up to standard with the rest of the ground facilities going along with it."

(Improvement District of Pickle Lake, Pickle Lake, p. 1680)

The provincial Ministry of Transportation and Communications has undertaken the construction of airstrips in remote northern communities. A program providing for 14 airstrips is nearing completion. The ministry maintained, however, that the provision of navigational aids and other aviation equipment remains the responsibility of the federal government. A bush pilot with Bearskin Airways described the situation to the Commission:

"As the Ministry of Transportation and Communications has built more runways in northern Ontario, the northern Ontario operators have more than kept pace by going from Beech 18's to Norsemen to Aztecs, Twin Otters, Navajos and more sophisticated, safer aircraft. But the powers-that-be have lagged far behind in providing more navigational aids, air radio stations, in order to provide all-weather, dependable air travel in the north."

(Bearskin Lake Air Service Ltd., Kenora, p. 2705)

While air safety was the major topic of concern with respect to air transport, northerners were also concerned with the high cost. One complaint voiced was that, while the provincial government operates (and subsidizes) the NorOntair network, this extends north of 50 only to Pickle Lake:

"Although the government subsidizes NorOntair Airlines, the local freight rates and passenger fares continue to escalate unjustly because the subsidy programs are not extended to the more northern airlines, such as White River Airlines. The cost of shipping one standard frame house to Winisk is \$18,000.00! The price of one gallon of gas is \$4.00."

(Chief Tom Archibald, Moose Factory, p. 3236)

The Big Trout Lake Band suggested that:

"Indian-owned transportation companies and Indian-owned air services should be encouraged. These services should be more service-orientated than profit-orientated."

(Big Trout Lake Band, Osnaburgh, p. 1881)

One northerner, who has been flying into native communities for many years and who has trained a number of native pilots, felt that it was time that native people were given the chance to become involved with something as crucial to their survival as air service, and cited the inequalities between Big Trout Lake and Kenora:

"There is more flying activity at Big Trout Lake than there is at Kenora. And by that I mean that there are more take-offs and landings by commercial aircraft . . . Kenora has a hard-surfaced landing strip that has just been extended to 5,800 feet. It has surveillance radar, hourly weather reports, teletype, air-to-ground communication and all the modern navigational aids. It is manned 24 hours a day by a staff of about 30 people. But there is more commercial air activity at Big Trout Lake so it has better equipment. Right? Quite wrong, Mr. Commissioner. Big Trout has one low-power, non-directional beacon which you cannot pick up until you are within 20 miles of Big Trout. Further, even that is not reliable. The airstrip is a varying mixture of mud and gravel, 3,500 feet long. It

is not serviceable at some times of the year, or, of course, if there is a lot of rain. It is staffed with one person, a maintenance man. Needless to say, there are a lot of kinds of planes you cannot land there."

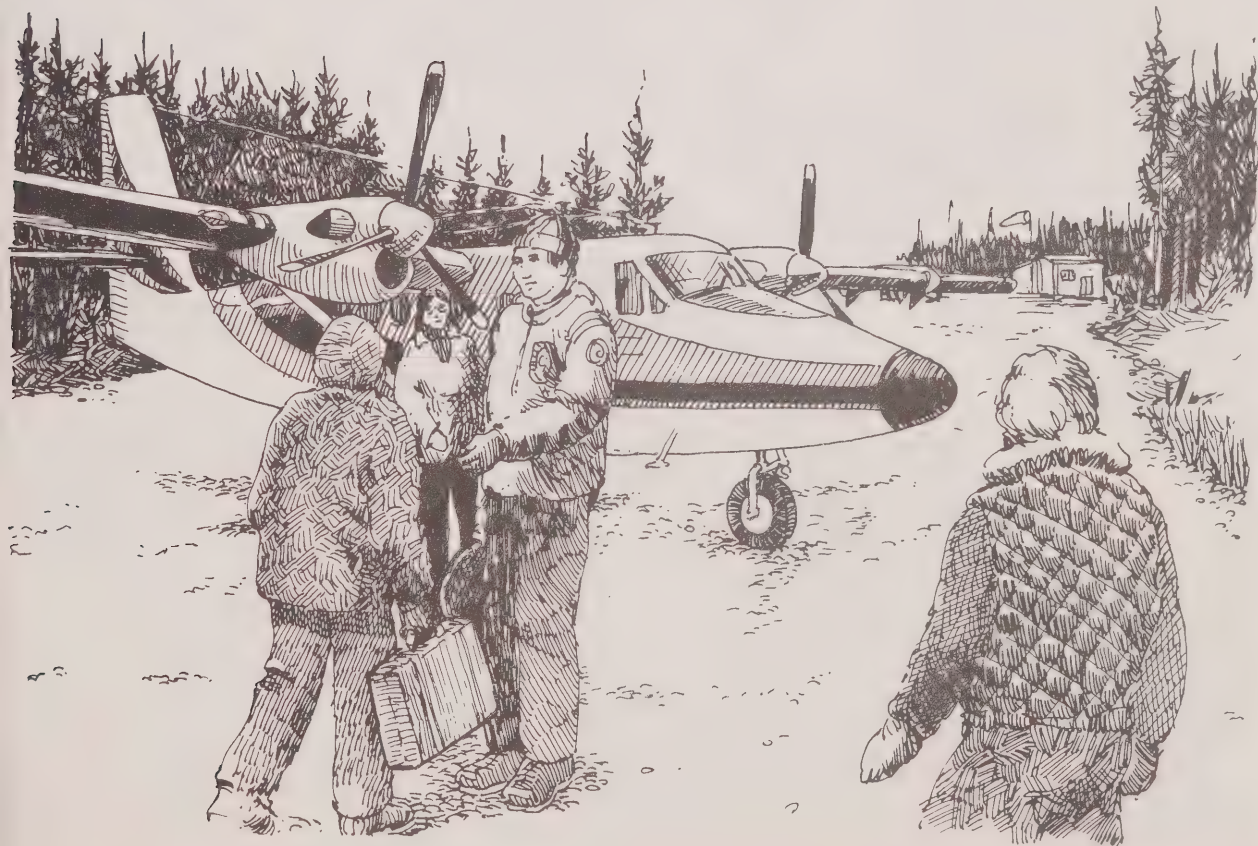
(Barney Lamm, brief submitted to the R.C.N.E., p. 6)

Searching for an explanation as to why native communities receive a lower level of air services, Mr. Lamm concluded:

"I do not think that it's racist — that it is the good white and the no-good Indian. I think it is just a matter of political power. Big Trout Lake doesn't have any."

(Barney Lamm, brief submitted to the R.C.N.E., p. 7)

The matter of political power, or the lack of it, dogs this question of transportation as it does all other issues in the north.





Communications Add Value to Life in the North

People north of 50, living as they do in scattered, isolated communities, understand the need for good communications. They also know the problems involved in obtaining such services, the expense and technical difficulties in overcoming distances and forbidding terrain, the lack of local power sources, the paucity of local programming. While some northerners asked for greater choice in their radio and television fare, native people asked for a radio network of their own and more native language programming. The Commission learned that native people were benefitting from the work of the Wa-Wa-Ta native Communications Society in providing a newspaper and radio service in Ojibway, Cree and English.

“When Did Ed Start Beating up His Wife?”

Through the wonders of modern technology, soap operas now affect the lives of northern Ontario residents as much as they do southern urban dwellers. In one northern village, an elderly woman told her son about Ed beating up his unfaithful wife. Not until after the son had circulated the item as gossip throughout the community, did he learn that “Ed” was a character in a television soap opera, and not his next door neighbour.

Other side effects of television in the north were recited to the Commission. In complaining about television's negative influence, the Commission was told that small communities are not able to get people together socially for bingos and square dances as they once did. They blame electronic entertainment in the home. An odd product of television is the reported increased feeling of isolation in the north on the part of viewers.

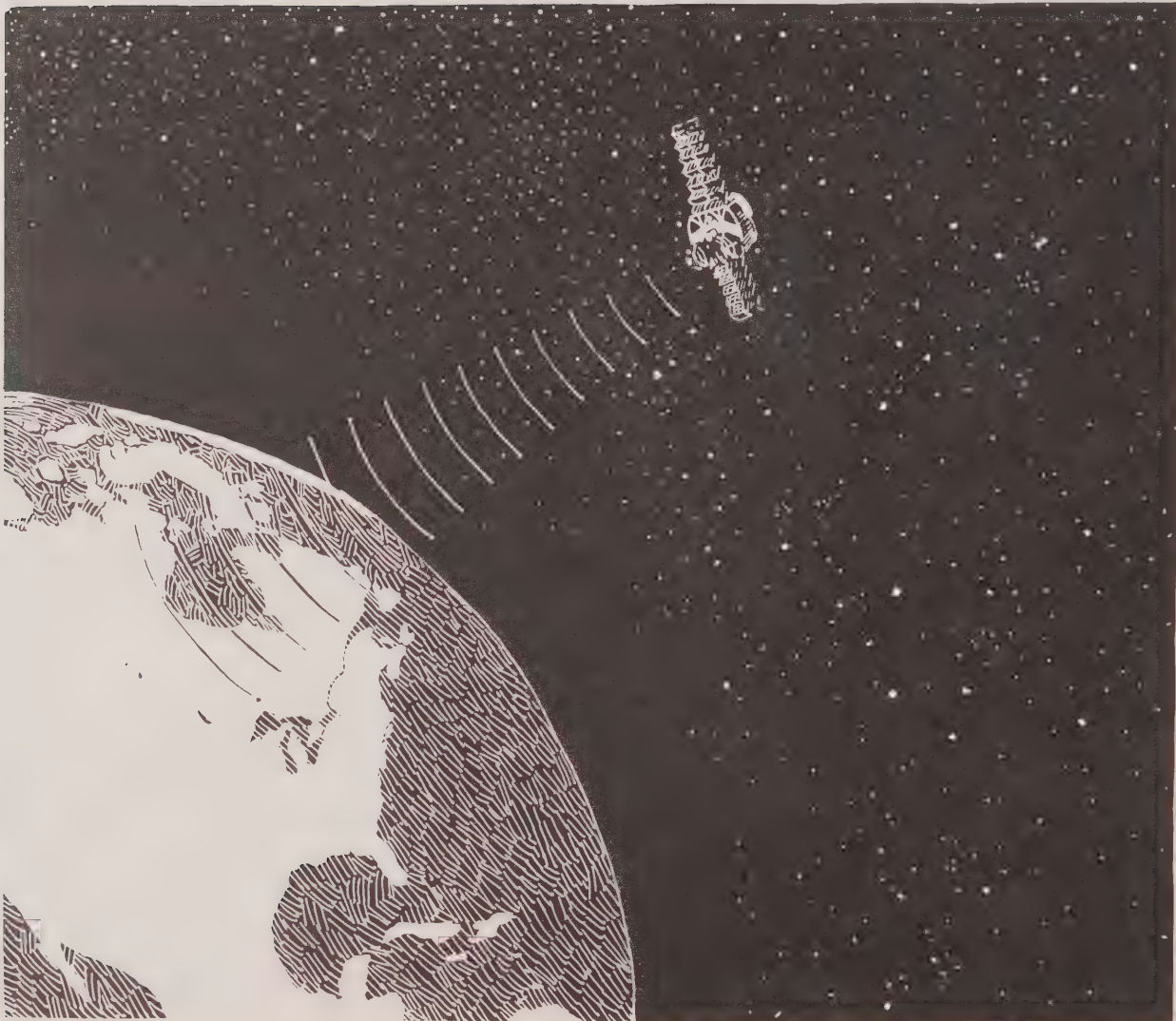
The Commission noted that communities in the southern portion north of 50 had different views and suggestions for improving communications than did the villages located much farther to the north.

At the southernmost sites, residents called for greater variety in their television programming. They told the Commission that many programs of interest to the north, such as international hockey matches, are broadcast on networks presently unavailable to them. One enterprising northern Ontario resident received a warning letter from CTV advising him to cease taping their programs for replay to local audiences.

The Wa-Wa-Ta Native Communications Society exemplifies the same independent northern spirit. Established in 1973 to provide information and news throughout the far north, Wa-Wa-Ta began with a newspaper in Ojibway and Cree syllabics and in English. In the last few years, Wa-Wa-Ta has been developing radio programming and has now set up a number of stations in native communities throughout northwestern Ontario.

Currently, residents of communities as northerly as Sandy Lake, North Spirit Lake and Deer Lake receive five hours of native language programming on CBQ radio, all originating from the nearby community of Sandy Lake (CBQV). This radio service has meant savings in time and even lives to the people of these reserves. Mothers with young children are notified of the time and place for vaccination clinics. Trappers can take CB radios with them on the trapline and maintain contact with radio stations in case of emergency. In this context, modern day electronic communications has become a necessity, not a luxury.

Almost all remote communities are serviced by radiophone but such limited telecommunications have not managed to conquer all the elements of the north. Wa-Wa-Tay News tells a story of how a party of government officials flew into Summer Beaver to check on the communications needs of this community. The officials listened to the band council list the various reasons telephone service was required but the group decided that, with three radiophones available, Summer Beaver was well off. Having arrived at this decision, the party was ready to leave when they found that their chartered plane had developed difficulties. To enlist help, they first tried the band office radiophone — out of order. Then the nursing station and the Wa-Wa-Ta office — same problem. The officials were stranded overnight, left to ponder the frustrations engendered by limited communications facilities north of 50.



Communications Make Participatory Democracy Possible

Throughout its hearings, the Commission was made aware of the need for improved communications in an area of the province where communities are scattered and isolated from each other and the outside world. The importance of communications to good human relations and actual survival was stressed:

"Communication is perhaps the most fundamental process of human society, the tie that simultaneously binds us together and marks us off from other living things . . . It is a key component of the 'quality of life', that set of intangibles which together are the source of richness in human existence . . . It is a paradoxical feature of modern life, however, that it is in those areas in which the benefits of communications — economic, social and cultural — are potentially the greatest, that the barriers to communications are most acute. This is particularly true of northern Ontario."

(Ministry of Transportation and Communications, Pickle Lake, p. 1643)

The long distances and inhospitable terrain which make communications systems so crucial also make them extremely expensive and technically exacting. Nevertheless, there is a feeling in the north that communications systems should be available whatever the cost. And the reasons are clear:

"We want to emphasize to you the importance of communications in our region. Our communities have no roads. We are dependent on the airplane beyond the range of our boats and skidoos. Airplane service is not cheap . . . Flying is dependent on weather, as you are sure to learn when you come to visit us. Even in clear weather our smaller communities without airstrips are isolated for several weeks during freeze-up and break-up."

(Wa-Wa-Ta, Moosonee, p. 3204)

For a widely scattered native population, concerned about what is happening to its people and to the land that sustains them, the ability to communicate effectively is necessary to their involvement in shaping the future:

"A reliable and accessible communications system can enable the people to share and discuss information they need to make decisions about matters which affect them. The communications system thus becomes a vital tool which enables native people to participate in their own development."

(Wa-Wa-Ta, Moosonee, p. 3203)

Telephone service was considered to be essential:

"Reliable communication in emergencies is vitally important, particularly in small communities without

nurses or OPP, and without a local airplane available. For this reason alone, we believe that every community must have reliable telephone service."

(Wa-Wa-Ta, Moosonee, p. 3204)

Most native people in the Treaty #9 area now have access to telephone service but there are still seven permanent communities where no telephone service is slated by Bell Canada. Not all communities receiving telephone service are considered large enough to be eligible for an exchange serving individual homes and in such villages, people must content themselves with toll station service, one telephone per community.

The Commission learned that Sachigo Lake and Muskrat Dam communities rejected Bell Canada's offer of toll station service, insisting that they require exchange service. Wa-Wa-Ta explained their demands:

"The Chiefs of Sachigo and Muskrat Dam have pointed out that one pay phone is entirely inadequate because it will present hardship for the people to come from all over the village to make and receive calls, and it will not be easily accessible in emergencies, especially at night. The chiefs have questioned the wisdom of investing in a multi-million dollar communications program and then providing one pay phone in that community."

(Wa-Wa-Ta, Moosonee, p. 3209)

Bell Canada discussed the need for better understanding and co-operation between the native people and the company:

"It may be that Bell Canada has not at all times perceived the real requirements of the native people, or completely understood their social needs, their demographic problems or their politics. On the other hand, it must be understood that Bell Canada has many obligations throughout the entire territory it serves. Capital is not available for all projects at any one time and priorities must be established. Some projects, of necessity, must be delayed."

(Bell Canada, Pickle Lake, p. 1604)

One of the problems that Bell Canada encountered in attempting to provide adequate service to remove northern communities has been the lack of community power sources:

"The availability of community power is a continuing major concern. Except in those few locations where community power has been provided by the federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND), a source of continuous, metered AC power is not available. The DIAND electrification program appears to have slipped and there is little presence of Ontario Hydro in the territory. Where special

arrangements have been made to provide telecommunications power, the ongoing costs are extremely high in that Ontario Hydro requires total recovery of all operating and maintenance costs from Bell Canada, or Bell Canada and Telesat Canada."

(Bell Canada, Pickle Lake, p. 1604)

The Ministry of Transportation and Communications agreed that the availability of power was a significant problem and pointed out that the ministry, in conjunction with Ontario Hydro and the Ontario Northland Transportation Commission, had installed diesel electric power for communication use in 18 communities, even though this was not thought to be the best solution:

"It was necessary that these be installed in order that reliable communications could be brought north of 51. The minister realizes that this is not the most efficient way to bring power for this use. Certainly, commercial power obtained from a community source is the sensible way and less expensive way to do it, but until such time as the community electrification program of the federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development as implemented by Ontario Hydro can catch up, this was the only way to ensure communications in north of 51 . . . I make this point, Sir, only to underline the fact that the improvement and expansion of communications in the north is entirely dependent upon the availability of commercial power, and that communications can only be as reliable as the power source from which it operates."

(Ministry of Transportation and Communications, Pickle Lake, p. 1653)

Despite the difficulties created by the lack of community power sources, Bell Canada and the Ministry of Transportation and Communications are involved in a jointly-financed communications expansion program to bring telecommunications to the north. Called the Remote Northern Ontario Telecommunications Project, the venture was designed to provide reliable long distance telephone facilities and a backbone structure for radio and television service to communities north of 51. As a result, broadcasting services are now available to remote northern communities for the first time. The ministry pointed out that:

"Prior to the initiation of the remote project, no broadcasting facilities existed above the 51st parallel, with the exception of Red Lake and community radio stations in Big Trout Lake and Moosonee, and also television in Moosonee. Since this project was implemented, it is being used as a means to convey the CBC Accelerated Coverage Plan service to communities of 500 or more, which is the criteria of the CBC as to delivery of that plan."

(Ministry of Transportation and Communications, Pickle Lake, p. 1649)

Smaller communities, however, felt that they too should have access to radio:

"Radio has become a vital source of information to the people in our region. Many of them have used the radio to learn about this Commission and to discuss its importance to them. But access to radio in our area is still very limited. Our communities are small. Twenty-five of them do not qualify for CBC service . . . Consider the frustrations of Bearskin Lake, Wunnumin Lake and Kingfisher Lake who are to be served by the same microwave system that will bring radio and TV to Big Trout Lake, while they will receive no broadcasting service at all."

(Wa-Wa-Ta, Moosonee, p. 3210)

Further problems are created by the fact that some communities have satellite service while others have terrestrial service. Wa-Wa-Ta argued that it is impossible to link these communities:

"We had hoped that the new telecommunications system would help us develop a regional radio network. But it appears that the technology is dividing us from each other as much as it is tying us together. We cannot afford to link communities with satellite service such as Muskrat Dam to those with terrestrial service such as Sandy Lake or Sioux Lookout. To do so, we would have to lease a line all the way back to Allen Park near Toronto to get into the satellite. Not even the CBC can afford to do this."

(Wa-Wa-Ta, Moosonee, p. 3210)

Native language programming was another expressed need. The Ministry of Transportation and Communications pointed out that while there was some local access to CBC radio, there was no local access to the use of television. They urged that provision be made for programming which would reflect local interests in local languages. This has already occurred in some communities:

"The CBC has offered access to the local radio transmitters to communication societies in these communities (with a population over 500). Sandy Lake is already on the air, and other communities are preparing for local access."

(Wa-Wa-Ta, Moosonee, p. 3208)

The Chief of Sandy Lake told the Commission about the local broadcasting service:

"We now have CBC radio and television. It was very hard to get them here. They kept saying they were coming, and then they would put it off to another date. But now, we have them, and we are happy with that service. On top of that, we broadcast locally five hours daily in Cree. This, too, is proving to be a very good thing."

(Chief Saul Fiddler, Sandy Lake, p. 2420)

Kitiwin Communications Association, which operates the local radio station at Sandy Lake, described the services it provides to the community:

"We from Kitiwin Communications give our local radio station access to our people, so we can broadcast in our own language which all Indians can understand . . . We can make our own programs in which the northern people are there to be involved."

(Kitiwin Communications, Sandy Lake, p. 2469)

The local station complained, nevertheless, that it was limited to five hours daily by the CBC, a time period which did not meet the needs of the community.

Northerners had clear ideas about the sort of programming they wanted and needed:

"We respectfully suggest that consideration be given to programs that deal with reality, the true history of this country, and the role the native people played in same. Programs that would set the record straight. Programs that would help the native children to develop pride and respect for their race and culture."

(Armstrong Metis Association, Sioux Lookout, p. 298)

People in larger communities expressed concern about the limited variety in general interest programming. In the northwest, only CBC television is available; in the northeast, both CBC and CTV television can be received. This is a source of dissatisfaction to residents of the northwest, one which the Ministry of Transportation and Communications recognized:

"In most areas of the province, broadcasting services are not frills but key components of the quality of life . . . It is generally acknowledged that some choice of television and radio stations, particularly in more remote, resource-based communities, can be a very important element of the community's social life."

(Ministry of Transportation and Communications, Pickle Lake, p. 1650)

The grade eight class of the Moosonee Public School agreed:

"We think that TV services can be improved by having more channels and more interesting programs. This might help to keep youth off the streets. If youths are not on the streets as much it would cut down on the total lawbreaking."

(Moosonee Public School, Grade 8, Moosonee, p. 3172)

In the northwest, people stressed the need for a second television station and complained about the lack of variety on CBC. Two Red Lake residents suggested that:

"An additional television channel would entertain a lot

of people. To sit and watch sports for hours on end is not enjoyable for most people, a greater variety would be appreciated. For Canadian content we are forever seeing sports and highlights on the Olympics. The Olympics were all very interesting, but to see it over and over again is ridiculous."

(Doreen Heinrichs and Dana Robbins, Red Lake, p. 525)

While improved communications allow better transfer of information to and within the north, the reverse does not seem to be true. Northerners were angry about the kind of press coverage the north received in the southern media, particularly:

"... the persistent bias presented in the urban media about the north; the misrepresentation by the media of the facts, events and resident expectations in order to proliferate southern myths about the north; the frequent patronizing and simplistic presentation of the region's need and interests."

(Red Lake Inter Agency Coordinating Committee, Red Lake, p. 596)

Because of the perceived past record of unfair reporting, there was some concern voiced for the coverage the southern media would provide for the Commission's activities. The Kenora and District Chamber of Commerce stated that:

"We watch with interest, Mr. Commissioner, the reports of the news media on these hearings as you travel across the north. We are most concerned that they show the balance that they should, and give fair coverage to all the viewpoints put forward."

(Kenora and District Chamber of Commerce, Kenora, p. 3072)

In Toronto, a York University student who had attended the Commission's hearings in Sioux Lookout and Dryden, blasted the southern press for what he felt to be misrepresentation of what had occurred at the hearings:

"While your preliminary hearings have witnessed a number of confrontations and emotional scenes, they have also established that there are many common concerns held by northerners that transcend race and cultural heritage. Yet I read nothing of this hope and desire for common and constructive action to improve the lot of northerners. I suppose it's not the sort of thing that sells newspapers in Toronto . . . How can southerners appreciate the problems and feelings of northerners when all they read about are the confrontations, the charges and counter-charges, and an all-pervasive bitterness? How can northerners come to respect the views of southerners when they find themselves constantly maligned in the media of southern Ontario?"

(Joe de Pencier, Toronto, p. 2002)

The northern media, on the other hand, represented themselves as outlets through which the Commission could communicate with the people of the north on a fair basis. The publisher of the Sioux Lookout Daily Bulletin told the Commission:

"I do believe that, small as the media in this area appears to be, it can still help your Commission achieve with greater ease the goal which it must reach . . . The media cannot read your mind, and, thus, when your Commission discerns the issues, you must make them public knowledge quickly in order to allow the participants to correct any false conclusions that you may have formed before you start out on the wrong track. The media can be of immense value to you in this regard."

(Daily Bulletin, Sioux Lookout, p. 342)

Wa-Wa-Ta covered the hearings in both English and Indian syllabics and made sure that the information got to the communities:

"For example, to distribute copies of the Wa-Wa-Tay supplement on the hearings during freeze-up, we chartered planes to drop papers tied in green garbage bags into the communities. This may be the first Royal Commission that has literally bombarded people with information."

(Wa-Wa-Ta, Moosonee, p. 3204)

Certainly the effort made by Wa-Wa-Ta to keep the people informed regarding what was happening at the hearings was an example of communications being made to work for the people. Wa-Wa-Ta felt that:

"The use of communications in these hearings is an example of its importance. The telephone has been used to plan, organize, and co-ordinate activities of all the participants. Both radio and newspapers are being used to inform the people in their own language about the hearings so that they will be able to follow the statements made, so that they will be prepared to participate in the community hearings."

(Wa-Wa-Ta, Moosonee, p. 3205)

While Wa-Wa-Ta's work was an indication of what communication can be in the north, its officers emphasized that there was much room for expansion and improvement. Wa-Wa-Ta foresaw considerable potential in

training local people to maintain and repair communications equipment and to become involved in the delivery of communications. One of its goals was:

" . . . participation by native people in the delivery of communication services through training and jobs in communication equipment operation and maintenance, administration and media production."

(Wa-Wa-Ta, Moosonee, p. 3212)

The Ministry of Transportation and Communications agreed that the training of native people in communications equipment maintenance was desirable:

"Indeed, I am sure that the standard of operation, the time to repair, etc., etc., will be improved if local people at site can be trained and are there with an interest in their community to keep the bells ringing . . . The employment of native residents in this work not only means repairs can be made immediately, but it further means a source of income to the communities concerned."

(Ministry of Transportation and Communications, Pickle Lake, p. 1656)

Native people were anxious to become involved in expanding and improving the communications network to better suit their needs. While adequate communications are essential to the well-being of the native people in the north, Treaty # 9 placed a word of caution about being heedless in pushing towards expanded communications:

"Our communities have suffered from an inadequate communication system. This is now being rectified, but we must consider the costs as well as the benefits. We are not against technology, but we must carefully consider its impact on our cultural life. It is we who must control any proposed changes in our lifestyle."

(Treaty # 9, Sioux Lookout, p. 117)

Whether it was native people, concerned that communications serve their needs and not threaten the stability of their traditional culture, or non-natives, lamenting the lack of variety in broadcasting, northerners were unanimous in expressing a common concern that instruments of communications should be tools in their hands to help northerners serve their own regional needs as much as possible.



Justice—Its Relevance to Native Cultures

Justice in the north, as presently administered, causes particular difficulties for native people, partly because of the application of both provincial and federal laws, and partly because of the imposition of a legal system that is alien to native cultures. With courts and law enforcement agencies staffed by non-natives, and these structures operating for the most part outside of the native communities, justice as rendered reflects outside values. The call to the Commission was for reform so that justice can not only be done but seen to be done.

Whose Values, For What Purpose?

In that part of Ontario lying north of 50, some two-thirds of the population have a culture which is foreign to most Canadians. The ancestors of these people were residents of the north long before the first European set foot anywhere on the land now known as Canada. Their languages were neither French nor English. Their values were linked to their close relationship, physical and spiritual, with the land. From these evolved an indigenous legal system.

With the Europeans came the languages, values and social systems which differed markedly from those already in place. The European legal system, in particular, was puzzling to the native people. Many native Canadians continue to fear it, perhaps mainly as an instrument of the dominant white society which threatens their survival as a distinct, identifiable people and culture.

Many of the social problems identified with the north were affected, perhaps even worsened, by the impact of the dominant legal system on the native people. Social ills, alcoholism, the violence that stems from hopelessness, the behaviour, often self-destructive, of the young, none of these seemed to be eased for those affected by their experiences with the law.

Problems encountered in the administration of justice, in the delivery of legal services, were described to the Commission, such as inadequate detention facilities, inappropriate sentences, insufficient help toward rehabilitation. A lack of personal understanding and trust between native and white persons, between offenders and police, seemed to be a major factor in the overall perception of what was wrong with the administration of justice in the north.

Evidence of the social malaise was clear. For example, the Ministry of Community and Social Services reported that the rate for juvenile delinquents in Metropolitan Toronto is ten dispositions to family court per 1,000 juveniles, while northwestern Ontario's rate is 48 and northeastern Ontario's is 19. Causes were felt to be related mainly to the high level of social problems and the inadequate social mechanisms in place to deal with youth in northern Ontario. Thus, the disproportionate number of northern children in trouble with the law.

It was also apparent to the Commission that the desire to overcome social and legal inequities is present in the north. Some efforts are even now being made but much remains to be done. The law and the system which administers it must rise to the challenge, the Commission was told. Should it fail to do so, conflict and violence may well increase, some predicted. This could lead to even greater polarization between peoples and between individuals and the society which is failing them.

How Well Does the Legal System Serve Native People?

Native representatives told the Commission that the design of a more relevant legal system for them is essential if northern people are to feel that their interests, their persons and their property are truly the concern of the law. On this question of justice, the non-native community made no representation, leaving the Commission to presume that non-native northerners consider themselves well served by the law and that reform of the administration of justice is not a matter of pressing concern to them. Native northerners, on the other hand, were very critical of the legal system.

It is native people in the north, the Commission learned, who suffer the greatest exposure, contact and conflict with the law and its administration. Their experience has left many native people believing that the legal system ignores indigenous customs and acknowledges only superficially the social problems which generate lawbreaking. It does not serve them well.

Elder Tom Fiddler of Sandy Lake told the Commission of his people's first experiences with the white man's law. He recounted incidences spanning a period of 30 years. Each time, police came into the native community, arrested the alleged offender and took him south, away from this language and his people. Through an interpreter he told how:

"The white man did not have awareness or respect for the native way of life, nor did they try to understand it. I think it is more advisable that our ways of correction be also taken into consideration. They were not even given the chance to go into trial. They were just condemned."

(Tom Fiddler, Sandy Lake, p. 2385)

Some native people spoke of their continuing capacity to evolve rules governing their communities:

"Our people never agreed to relinquish sovereignty over our lives. We have continued to make laws through the years to govern the important aspects of our lives. I have examined the document, Treaty #3, on a number of occasions. I fail to see any statement contained in that document which says that the Indian people have relinquished their sovereignty."

(Treaty # 3, Kenora, p. 2897)

The history of alienation from the legal system continues to repeat itself, now fueled by the ramifications of alcohol abuse.

The Commission heard that the District of Kenora has a record of liquor offences approximately five times the provincial average, most of them involving Indians:

"The majority of the convictions in the Kenora District Court (Summary Conviction Proceedings) were found to involve liquor offences. The average between 1966-1974 is 66%, whereas the provincial average for 1966-1972 is 12%. About 80% of the liquor offences in the

Kenora Court involve 'public intoxication', this compares to 45% for the province . . . An exploratory examination of homicide cases heard in the Kenora District Court between 1970-1975 found that in over 80% of the cases the suspects were reported being drunk or drinking prior to the crime."

(Addiction Research Foundation, brief submitted to the R.C.N.E., January 4, 1978, p. 10)

The high level of native contact with the law also stems from the disproportionately large number of violent deaths among Indians:

"Data from the regional coroner indicate that between 1973-1974 in the Kenora District, one out of every three victims of accidental and violent deaths were native Indians, although they comprise only 21% of the population of the district."

(Addiction Research Foundation, brief submitted to the R.C.N.E., January 4, 1978, p. 11)

The legal system's response to these deaths was criticized as never getting at the real cause:

"We are very angry and dissatisfied with the handful of inquests that have been held for these people (victims of violence). When one is held it is not thorough enough. It seems that it is not to seek the real causes of these deaths, but more of a cover-up. 'The person drank insect repellent', we are told, or 'the young girl took an overdose of TB pills'. And so on. Does that sound like it's getting to the real cause? Or a cover-up?"

(Nancy Morrison, Kenora, p. 2594)

"When we ask for more inquests because we are dissatisfied with the number and the way they are conducted, why are they afraid to conduct these and really dig into the causes of some of these deaths and 'accidents'?"

(Lake of the Woods Pow-Wow Club, Kenora, p. 2539)

Some allegations were of a different kind but equally serious. The Commission heard how some perceive the workings of the penal system:

"I would like to talk about something which I am not happy about. It is the way our Indian people are treated in the local jail. In this jail they are sometimes beaten by the Ontario Provincial Police while there are no witnesses to see this happening. It is the Indian's word against the Ontario Provincial Police."

(Frederick Whiskeychan, Moosonee, p. 3175)

Fear of the policeman seems to result in further alienation from the dominant Canadian culture:

"We find we are not in control of our lives in any way. The police become our enemies. The bootlegger is seen as our friend, and the water and railroad tracks beckon as a quick and welcome release. And we hate it. We hate it and hate ourselves and take out our anger on each other. Jail and the hospital, receiving home and training school and foster home become the common experiences shared by our children, not college or university, not work or homes that we are proud of."

(Lake of the Woods Pow-Wow Club, Kenora, p. 2539)

Even those most critical of the legal system recognized that some things are being done to make the system more responsive to northern natives. For example, natives are being recruited to work as special Ontario Provincial Police constables on the reserves under a joint federal-provincial program. Several elders spoke with regret that:

"We have to have a policeman to help keep our home the way the Great Spirit meant it to be and to help straighten out young people whose boredom gets them into trouble."

(Pikangikum Band, Sandy Lake, p. 2450)

Others admitted the need for enforcement:

"We are thinking about the future. We have asked for a band constable. Our children haven't gotten into serious trouble, but we want a constable so that the people can govern their own settlements."

(Deer Lake Community, Sandy Lake, p. 2403)

Some people felt that these special Ontario Provincial Police constables were not treated fairly:

"The solicitor-general says that . . . the Indian people are not taxpayers and this is why we pay Indian people less."

(Treaty #3, Nakina, p. 1547)

Indians in conflict with the law are often dealt with in a manner that can be extremely disorienting:

"In a criminal case, the accused person might be in custody many miles from the community, appear in court many miles from the community, and have his case argued in the presence of a non-native jury, presided over by a non-native judge in an arena where often native customs may not be taken into account in the determination either of the question of guilt or innocence, or in the final disposition of the case."

(Harvey Savage, brief submitted to the R.C.N.E., October 31, 1977, p. 7)

The Ontario Ministry of the Attorney General's system of travelling courts was established to deal with this problem:

"When the court travels in the north, the judge is accompanied by crown counsel, duty counsel and a court reporter. Often a native court worker, an Ontario Provincial Police representative and a probation officer will travel with the group to assist the court and individual accused. The court visits larger communities on a regular schedule, and whenever and wherever necessary on a crisis-intervention basis."

(Ministry of the Attorney General, brief submitted to the R.C.N.E., November 17, 1977, p. 2)

Other measures to meet the needs of native communities have been taken. The Ministry of the Attorney General has appointed native justices of the peace although the program has encountered:

" . . . recruiting problems since some excellent native people who would have been very suitable in this work have been reluctant to accept appointments."

(Ministry of the Attorney General, brief submitted to the R.C.N.E., November 17, 1977, p. 12)

In the area of sentencing, attempts are being made to impose sanctions which are compatible with native experience. The Ministry of Correctional Services told the Commission that they often favoured community service orders as an alternative to jail:

"The Minister of Correctional Services . . . feels that people of any colour, native, white or whatever, should not sit in jails and do nothing. Particularly with relationship to the north, he wishes that the Commission would consider the fact that our ministry has access to certain cutting rights and reforestation and to environmental improvement or to park development, so that people who come to our attention will have something productive to do while they are serving their time . . . and it might give them skills which would make them a little more productive in the future."

(Ministry of Correctional Services, Ear Falls, p. 801)

Nevertheless, underlying economic and social conditions continue unaltered. The Ministry of Correctional Services called for social changes to treat the problems that lead to crime:

"We are concerned in the rapid development and change of traditional ways of life, that there is not enough development of the social infrastructure which will help keep the need for our kind of service to a minimum . . . When we are developing our economy we don't see the jail as one of the major resources, but to build as many other things as possible to keep people from ever getting to us."

(Ministry of Correctional Services, Ear Falls, p. 801)



Community Taxation—Too Small a Base

Northern Ontario communities reported themselves unable to provide levels of physical and social services equal to those provided elsewhere in the province. They blame the inadequate municipal tax base in their communities which provides very low local revenues. Municipalities called for legislative changes on the provincial level which would instruct and encourage natural resource industries to contribute more to the provision of services in the towns housing their labour forces. Smaller communities look to provincial subsidies to help finance their needed services.

Industries Required to Help Provide Amenities

Evolving communities during their early boom periods in northern Ontario were pictured to the Royal Commission as places of bustling activity — people and machines on the move, buildings going up, towns being hewn from the bush.

Regrettably, many northerners found this euphoric phenomenon short-lived. Northern realities more often left towns with inadequate sewage and water facilities, inferior roads, expensive (or rare) serviced lots, and few recreational or social services.

The Commission heard that in more than one town north of 50, current municipal expenditures exceed revenues. Debts began and grew in periods of rapid community expansion. Many municipalities in the north complained that, at present, they have no effective tax mechanisms to keep up with the growth in population caused by the development of nearby natural resources.

Representatives of mining and forestry companies in northern Ontario, addressing the Commission, pointed out that, in the past, their companies did provide the main housing and community recreational services in most of the communities near which they located their operations. Tax relief incentives had encouraged this kind of contribution. Should these be withdrawn, resource industries would be less able to finance such services.

Municipal representatives described the need for greater funding to provide adequate schools, recreation and infrastructure for their citizens. Municipal representatives regretted that their local bodies do not have a direct call on some portion of the corporate income tax which resource companies pay the province. Northern towns see themselves called to provide local services for industrial workers and their families while the employing companies sidestep them, paying taxes to provincial and federal governments and not to the municipal body providing those services. The reason is simple — in many cases the companies are located outside the town boundaries and, thus, not subject to municipal jurisdiction.

While several northerners acknowledged that some government agencies, notably in the recreational field, have made special efforts to assist their communities financially, most northern townspeople felt that far greater provincial government assistance is required before amenities and services can compare favourably with those in southern Ontario.

New Approaches and Formulas Advocated

The larger communities of the north described their municipal tax base to the Commission as inadequate for the services demanded or as excessively dependent upon a single resource industry. In Dryden, the publisher of the local paper pointed out that:

"The local and municipal tax revenue from the paper company here has helped very substantially to make improvements possible. To be more explicit, the paper company's municipal tax bill is \$1 million a year — which amounts to 40% of the town's tax revenues."

(Dryden Observer, Dryden, p. 370)

Dependence on a single taxpayer or employer, can be disastrous, whether it be a paper company or a mining enterprise:

"The communities which have developed . . . have all the stability of the markets for their resources, the life of their finds, and the efficiency of silviculture techniques. Once an ore body is mined out, jobs are lost and houses become vacant. Industrial taxes are lost. Once-crowded classrooms become small. And few smiles are to be found on the faces of business people who have spent years developing their business and establishing their families . . . The town will have fallen on hard times. Many refer to this phenomenon as the boom and bust syndrome."

(Alex and Delia Rosenthal, Ear Falls, p. 811)

There are seven organized communities in Ontario north of 50. In addition to these towns, townships and improvement districts, there are a large number of unorganized communities. The latter's characteristics were described to the Commission by the Unorganized Communities Association of Northeastern Ontario (UCANO—East):

"Most are residuals of resource-based towns who used to depend on an industry that has since disappeared. Most lack all basic physical services such as water, sewage, fire protection, etc. Most depend on remote municipalities for government and social services . . . Most lack planning services, and perhaps most important, most lack an adequate tax base to consider any existing form of organization."

(UCANO — East, Timmins, p. 910)

Organized communities, as represented by the Northwestern Ontario Municipal Association (NOMA), felt themselves somewhat exploited by unorganized communities and asked that:

"New formulas must be established in order that residents and industries located in unorganized areas

contribute their fair share to services provided at the expense of organized municipalities."

(NOMA, Kenora, p. 2518)

The Unorganized Communities Association of Northwestern Ontario (UCANO — West) disagreed:

"A lot of people do not realize that we do pay taxes. We pay provincial land tax, local roads board tax and school tax . . . It just irks me because people think that we are freeloading. We are not. We pay."

(UCANO — West, Kenora, p. 2997)

Overwhelming support came for the recommendation that any new developments should utilize existing townsites rather than create new communities to follow the boom and bust pattern:

"We (should) not build whole new towns to accommodate these developments anymore . . . The mines close and the people are uprooted . . . The town is left with no economy. We cannot afford that costly pattern anymore."

(Millie Barrett, Geraldton, p. 1417)

Several submissions recommended that workers commute from established townsites to their places of work. Onakawana Development Ltd. discussed its plans should development proceed:

"It is not the intent to create a new townsite at Onakawana . . . This would tend to disrupt already established communities. Rather, workers will be transported by the company from their existing communities to work for four- or three-day period at the mine and transported home again for their three- or four-day break."

(Onakawana Development Ltd., Timmins, p. 950)

A major problem reported by several communities was the responsibility of providing services for employees of a company without being able to tax the employing industry because its place of operation was located outside the town's boundaries:

"Municipalities do not obtain direct revenue from the logging sector . . . nor from the industry that results in the harvesting of those trees. The services to the community are located here and must be provided but the revenues are not forthcoming . . . Surely we deserve a share of this wealth."

(Town of Geraldton, Geraldton, p. 1344)

The township of Longlac reported difficulties in planning and building new subdivisions to house workers from Kimberly-Clark:

"Growth of expenditures has exceeded the growth of assets . . . When new industry comes to a town it is important that that industry settle within the town boundaries . . . to help increase assessment and offset the costs of development."

(Township of Longlac, Nakina, p. 1461)

The main consequence of an inadequate tax base is that social and community needs suffer:

"The resource centres of this area are, by definition, apparently unable to develop a broad tax base. Decisions to build or improve educational facilities, recreation complexes, and educational programs may have the immediate result of a raise in local mill rates. This consideration, or fear of this result, has restricted development of cultural and educational facilities found in other parts of Ontario."

(Ontario Public School Men Teachers Federation, Dryden District, Dryden, p. 457)

Government was asked to consider the financial shortcomings in small northern towns:

"More government funding could go into recreational and intellectual facilities for a developing northern area. Although people are willing to work for this end, in a new area funds are low."

(Don and Linda Pickett, Pickle Lake, p. 1724)

The Ministry of Culture and Recreation pointed out that the Community Recreation Centres Act and the Wintario Grants Program have some flexibility:

"Depending on circumstances, in order to assist those communities with less ability than others, especially in the north, to provide matching funds, it has been possible to accept the value of donated labour and materials in lieu of cash contributions as is normal . . . Also, in cases of genuine need where the total private sector contribution is insufficient and where the field consultant believes that the capital facility is needed and can be maintained by the community, the consultant may recommend additional Wintario support for such a project."

(Ministry of Culture and Recreation, Kenora, p. 2507)

The ministry most concerned with municipal finance is the Ministry of Treasury, Economics and Intergovernmental Affairs (TEIGA). It reported to the Commission on the Regional Priority Budget set up in 1973 and the Isolated Communities Existence Fund established in 1977 (both since taken over by the Ministry of Northern Affairs) to deal with community infrastructure financing

difficulties. TEIGA defined the problems as:

" . . . (First) the limited tax base with which to finance the range of services normally expected. Secondly, the difficulty for small northern communities to obtain long-term borrowing. Thirdly, the often higher demands for the broader range of municipal services with comparable municipalities in southern Ontario because of the isolated nature of northern communities. In brief, the issues concerning municipal finance can be reduced to who should pay for various services northern communities require."

(Ministry of Treasury, Economics and Intergovernmental Affairs, Timmins, p. 864)

The Ministry of Northern Affairs reported that it is currently investigating methods of organization to help ease some of the problems experienced by northern municipalities.

Representatives of both provincial and municipal governments felt that clarification of jurisdiction was necessary:

"In the federal-provincial field, the Ministry of Treasury, Economics and Intergovernmental Affairs has been attempting to clarify the responsibilities of the federal and provincial governments through a process we call disentanglement of overlapping functions. In another sense, we have been trying to do this in the provincial-municipal field also, where we found that all too often, accountability is lost where there is not a clear onus on one level or the other for providing certain services, and particularly where the financing is not clear. The purpose of disentanglement is to enable the distinction between and separation of the roles and responsibilities of levels of government as far as possible so that each can carry them out sensitively and economically."

(Ministry of Treasury, Economics and Intergovernmental Affairs, Timmins, p. 866)

The Tri-Municipal Committee of Balmertown, Ear Falls and Red Lake called for:

" . . . a review and analysis of the interrelationships between municipal governments and the provincial government, a listing of the achievements and problems in these relationships, a review of the funds and services that are provided in the Tri-Municipal area by the provincial government."

(Tri-Municipal Committee, Ear Falls, p. 744)

Many residents of the north maintained that increased industrial development would help ease their problems:

"New industry generates new service industries . . . What this means in practical terms is that not only are employment opportunities created in the construction industry through capital expenditures, but also the

needs for employees in the service industries are increased. The welfare and unemployment rolls in this area are of widespread concern to all of us. We feel that controlled and planned development of our renewable resources can only serve to alleviate this heavy tax burden."

(Dryden District Chamber of Commerce, Dryden, p. 380)

One town volunteered:

"We . . . would not object to being termed a depressed area, an underprivileged area or any other designation that was required, in order to obtain help to provide incentives to various industries to come here . . . This type of thing is generally not done until the town faces economic devastation. Surely it is logical and it is much easier to attract new industries to a town while that town is confident and moving forward, instead of fearful and tripping backwards."

(Town of Geraldton, Geraldton, p. 1348)

There was general agreement among speakers at the Commission's hearings that resource extraction ought to be a base from which to diversify and build a strong economy. Further:

"Resource-based industries usually result in an outward flow of profits, taxes and financial benefits . . . We would like to see some form of contingency fund built up over a period of years so that there will be funding available for a replacement industry, for assistance to residents to relocate, or to help with the operation of the remaining townsite."

(Madsen Community Association, Red Lake, p. 542)

The Ontario New Democratic Party Caucus maintained that:

" . . . the province must capture all surplus profits from that [resource] exploitation . . . A portion of the funds so generated should be used to promote diversification of the regional economy . . . Single resource communities are vulnerable to the erosion of their economic base as their resources dwindle."

(Ontario New Democratic Party Caucus, Timmins, p. 984)

Many felt that industry should take more responsibility for the dependent communities:

"Development companies must include in their capital costs 5% of any project as a community development fee, which should be turned over to a community planning council for local use in the areas of social, community or educational improvement. The designation of this fund must be entirely in the hands of the local community, and they must be allowed to meet their own priorities without government or company influence."

(Warner West, Moose Factory, p. 3331)

The plea for greater local involvement in decision-making as a step in solving problems was heard across the north. The Tri-Municipal Committee asked for:

"The potential for improving and strengthening the role of municipal government as participants in provincial decisions affecting the area in order to assure that decisions are made in consultation with local government, and not solely by provincial agencies . . . What methods can be developed for municipal financing which will provide more stable sources of income and minimize the constant requests for 'hand-outs'? How much of the federal and provincial government royalties and other payments should be returned to the municipality?"

(Tri-Municipal Committee, Red Lake, p. 484)

Both the Northwestern Ontario Municipal Association and the Ministry of the Environment recommended that the Commission examine ways of providing an adequate tax base for northern communities. In particular, NOMA recommended:

"New formulas must be established to provide adequate revenues to organized municipalities to provide a minimum level of services to the public at costs consistent with those enjoyed by southern Ontario municipalities. This minimum level in service should include roads, municipal services, health, education, cultural and recreational facilities. A greater portion of the provincial revenues directed to municipalities should be unconditional. Each municipality should be permitted to establish its own priorities beyond the level of minimum servicing standards . . . Local populations and municipalities should be permitted to participate in the negotiation process together with government and industry in order to identify and to achieve trade-offs to the betterment of the local area."

(NOMA, Kenora, p. 2518)

Treaties and Rights—In What Spirit?

Key elements in understanding the present differences between native people and the provincial government over the natural resources of the north are the Treaties (#3, #5, #9) between government and Indians signed in northern Ontario between 1873 and 1930. Indian representatives reiterated for the benefit of the Commission their version of what had transpired during treaty negotiations, how these documents were negotiated, how promises to them were broken. Metis groups also represented their claims to rights as descendants of the original peoples of the land. Several non-native groups supported Indian demands for renegotiation of the treaties, urging that native rights be defined and protected and that conflicts be resolved to open the north to further development.

Questions of Access to Natural Resources

All along the rivers and lakes that gave them access to inland North America, explorers from Europe discovered people already living on the land.

Native people and newcomers, their meetings brought into contrast two totally different views of existence and of the world.

The British and French saw land as a commodity which could be bought, sold or transferred from one owner to another. They had long developed an established body of law and tradition which protected individual property rights and private ownership. Native people, on the other hand, viewed land as a legacy from the Great Spirit, as part of all things alive which must be cared for, nurtured and shared for the benefit of nature's totality. Native peoples had far different traditions governing their use of the land. Their descendants, present-day native northerners, believe that their ancestors could no more have comprehended the concept of owning the land than that of owning the rays of the sun or of possessing the waves of the water.

Because the early newcomers from a different world wished to acquire access and title to lands used or occupied by native people, they initiated and negotiated a number of treaties.

According to native people who spoke before the commission, when the first treaties were proposed and their terms disclosed to native people, there was no talk of the surrender of land or of Indians yielding their unquestioned rights to live the way native people had always lived: what was discussed then was how to share the land and how to live in peace and friendship together.

Today, in 1978, grave doubts persist whether those predecessor native people who signed the treaties were offered or had any real choice. The phrasing used and the promises made in the numbered treaties are almost identical. Was there really any room for negotiating changes? Did the government of the day have a predetermined agenda which the treaty commissioners had to meet?

It is clear to their descendants that the native people who signed Treaty #3 had definite concerns when they took part in the treaty signing. They had pressed for higher yearly payments than those received in the Manitoba Treaties #1 and #2. They had urged greater recognition of their traditional lifestyle, strongly requested assistance in developing their agriculture with tools and skills, and had sought free passageway on the soon-to-be-built railway. Yet oddly, in 1873, the communities of Treaty #3 who were called together in assembly at

the northwest angle of the Lake of the Woods to sign the treaty signed the standard form. The few who could not attend were approached later to sign an adhesion indicating their agreement to the terms of the earlier treaty.

Communities of the Treaty #9 area were visited separately by the treaty commissioners. Residents were not made aware of the discussions which had taken place at other sites.

Language fails to translate ideas

Both Treaties #3 and #9 talks took place employing two languages and proceeding from disparate viewpoints. Priests or Métis traders, many with their own interests in mind, served as interpreters.

The end-product, the treaties, confirmed in the government's mind its right to allow development of the land which it now "owned". To native people, while the treaties allowed settlers to live on lands within which the Indian people hunted, trapped and fished, the treaties also meant that Indian people would continue to live off the land in their time-honoured ways.

It was argued before the Commission that this difference in perception was not at issue nor confronted until modern times since native people, unaware that their universe had been sold, continued their nomadic way of life for years. It was not until some time after the original treaties were signed that the government's intentions regarding the settlement of native people on reserves owned by bands became known.

At the Commission's hearings in 1977 and 1978, viewpoints on treaties and Indian rights were varied, but spokespeople were agreed that the Commission should try to assist in the resolution of outstanding grievances stemming from the treaties. Only after restitution should development proceed.

The Commission, in its first interim report, April 4, 1978 took the view that it was time to explore an approach based on negotiation and the acceptance of mutual responsibilities. There are unique and essential roles for each of the three basic participants: the federal government, because of its authority for Indians under the British North America Act, the provincial government through its declared ownership of the land and its actions in controlling and facilitating economic development in Ontario, and the Indians because of their particular constitutional status.

In addition, it is important to recognize the vital interest of affected municipalities in all discussions and decisions.

Accordingly, it was recommended in the Commission's Interim Report, that: "A committee should be formed, composed of ministerial-level representatives of the federal and Ontario governments and representatives of the Indian people. The committee would attempt to resolve, through negotiation, issues raised by its members, and in particular would address question of devolution of authority to govern local affairs and access to resources for the Indian people. A small secretariat, acceptable to all parties, should be established to support the committee."

The structure proposed was not exclusively tri-partite. It had to be flexible enough to accommodate other parties, namely, other levels of government, Crown corporations, companies or whoever is necessary to facilitate the decision-making-by-negotiation process. In this instance, the fundamental objective of the Indian people is to regain control over their own lives and to have self-sustaining communities. To do this, they need some economic substitute for the federal transfer payments on which they have become all too dependent. Accordingly, the Commission saw it as essential that the issues of Indian community government and of access to natural resources be addressed at the very first meetings of the committee.

On September 29, 1978 the formation of a secretariat to support the committee was officially announced by the federal Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, with Mr. Justice E.P. Hartt as its chairman. To be known as the Indian Commission of Ontario, the secretariat will assist the Tripartite Council which has already been formed.

Treaties and Rights—Basic Considerations

The Canadian Crown's treaties with the Indians were held by many native people to be among the most important matters that the Commission might consider. One spokesman claimed that the Commission came into existence primarily because the treaties were not being honoured.

North of 50 in Ontario, three treaties are presently in force: Treaty # 3, Treaty # 5 and Treaty # 9. These formal agreements were designed to extinguish the legal interests that the Indian people, as original residents, might have had in the lands they occupied or used. Some governments recognize that native or aboriginal peoples have priority rights which must be dealt with before newcomers can assert any claims to the land.

After the British occupation of North America, King George III issued a Royal Proclamation in 1763 which stated that Indian people would henceforth be dealt with by treaty; and that Indian land would be sold only to the Crown and, hence, not to individual settlers.

The Proclamation and the treaties which followed it could be viewed as formal recognition of the aboriginal rights (and particularly aboriginal title in the lands) which the treaties purported to have extinguished in exchange for certain government promises.

Treaty # 3 pertains to 55,000 square miles in north-western Ontario (See map section). It was signed in 1873 by Ojibway chiefs of that area and representatives of the Canadian government.

Treaty # 9, which covered 90,000 square miles, was signed in 1905-06. 128,320 square miles of land were added through adhesions signed in 1929-30 (again see map section). Ojibway and Cree people living in these areas signed the treaty along with representatives of the governments of Canada and Ontario.

Treaty # 5, covering approximately 15,000 square miles in Ontario, applies, in the main, to a larger contiguous area in Manitoba. Falling under the provisions of Treaty # 5 are those lands lying north of Treaty # 3 and drained by the Poplar, Berens and Bloodvein rivers. Within this area are the communities of Deer Lake, Pikangikum, and Poplar Hill, with McDowell Lake and North Spirit Lake located virtually on the boundary between the Treaty # 5 and Treaty # 9 areas. In addition, the community of Sandy Lake, although it is clearly sited within Treaty # 9 lands, was dealt with on the basis of the Treaty # 5 agreement. For practical purposes, all of these communities in Treaty # 5 fall under the leadership of Grand Council Treaty # 9 which works with these communities on a variety of issues.

Although the three treaties differ in several details, the printed government version of each (see Appendices D, E and F) has as its main provisions the setting aside of certain parcels of land as reserves, the right to pursue traditional means of livelihood, and availability of teachers and schools, and the provision of certain monies and trade goods to band members in return for the surrender of aboriginal title.

Much of the present-day misunderstandings appear to be rooted in the different cultural perspectives vis-a-vis the land and the extent to which these were understood in the original negotiations:

"Our people, unlike your ancestors from Europe, never saw themselves as the owners of the land. No one can own something that belongs to our Great Spirit. They can only be the custodians of the land . . . This is why the treaties are not perceived by our people as something that extinguished our title to the land, our rights to the land, but rather as a way of expressing our willingness to share equally our gift with the newcomers from far away."

(Treaty # 9, Sioux Lookout, p. 79)

Numerous representations before the Commission spoke of promises broken. People told of agreements made verbally but not recorded in the same way as spoken, of promises recorded that have not yet been fulfilled. They also complained of lack of meaningful participation:

"My people were not informed of the reasons you wanted the treaty, and you did not give us an opportunity to research and determine exactly what was in our best interests. My forefathers signed the treaty. They were deceived about its contents. They were never told about its effects. They were convinced they had no choice but to sign."

(Treaty # 3, Dryden, p. 401)

And:

"When the courts decided Treaty # 3 was in Ontario, the Ontario government said it would have to examine the treaty promises made by the federal government. Negotiations were held. We were not represented at these meetings. We were never even notified that these negotiations were taking place. At these negotiations, Ontario failed to fulfill all of the treaty promises. The federal government representatives did not protect our rights. Consequently, we lost much of what had been promised to us by the treaty commissioners."

(Treaty # 3, Dryden, p. 404)

Part of the problem of broken promises relates to the jurisdictional conflicts between the federal and provincial governments. In 1873 when Treaty # 3 was signed, the Ontario-Manitoba boundary was in dispute and Ontario was not party to the signing. The federal government granted a licence to the St. Catherine's Milling Company to cut timber in the Treaty # 3 area in 1883. When the Canada Boundary Act of 1889 confirmed that the area in question did lie within Ontario, the Ontario government sued the St. Catherine's Milling Company for the value of the timber cut and for cessation of timber operations. In finding for the province, the Court confirmed that beneficial interest in the lands resided with the province. This and other disputes led to "An Act

for the settlement of certain questions between the governments of Canada and Ontario respecting Indian lands" and an agreement of April 16, 1894, in which it was stated that any future treaties with the Indians in respect of territory in Ontario would require the concurrence of the government of Ontario. Thus, when Treaty # 9 was signed in 1905-06, the government of Ontario was represented.

Representatives of the governments of Canada and Ontario both delivered statements to the Commission that outlined what they understood as their respective responsibilities for the Indian people. Clearly, the federal government assumes primary responsibility for registered Indians:

"The federal responsibility for Indians and their lands dates from the first contacts and communications between the Crown and the aboriginal inhabitants of this country. It is enshrined in the British North America Act of 1867 which gives the federal Parliament the necessary legislative jurisdiction to carry out that responsibility. It is signified by the special rights accorded to Indian people through their treaties, the Indian Act and other legislation."

(Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Hugh Faulkner, Moose Factory, p. 3259)

The provincial government's position with regard to registered Indians was also clear:

"The government of Canada should be generally responsible for services to registered Indians by virtue of section 91, sub-section 24 of the British North America Act and the constitutional convention that the government of Canada has for the interest and well-being of registered Indians. Where desirable, services may be purchased from and provided by the government of Ontario."

(Provincial Secretary for Resources Development, Rene Brunelle, Timmins, p. 2311)

The position of the Ontario government towards native rights was outlined:

"It is the government of Ontario which has paramount responsibility for making ultimate decisions in development and use of Ontario's natural resources . . . Ontario's Crown resources belong to all of the people of Ontario and will be managed in the best interests of all citizens of the province, including native people . . . Claims by native people based on aboriginal rights for unfulfilled treaty entitlements should be pursued jointly with the government of Canada and the province of Ontario. This shared responsibility for dealing with such claims arises from the division of responsibilities in the British North America Act which allocates the responsibilities for Indians, and land reserved for Indians, to Canada, and the responsibility for natural resources to Ontario."

(Provincial Secretary for Resources Development, Rene Brunelle, Timmins, p. 2314)

This divided jurisdiction and the imposition of provincial regulations over use of the natural resources seems to be a cause of what many people see as broken treaty promises:

"Indian people still use the land, for the land and the forests and the lakes provide for all our needs. I make a good living from the land . . . When the government made a treaty with us it promised not to take away our means of survival . . . The government promised that it was not going to judge how many animals we kill, but now they come up with quotas on the fish and on the wild rice in the area. The wild rice was put there for the Indians to use as food, but the government puts a quota on it. If you don't collect the right amount to sell in the south, the government gives the licence to a white man."

(Whitehead Moose, Sandy Lake, p. 2476)

The situation in relation to fishing rights was described:

"Shortly after the turn of the century, Ottawa, in its wisdom, informally delegated to Ontario administration of the Federal Fisheries Act. Regulations were passed pursuant to the Act and became known as the Ontario Fisheries Regulations. From its position as agent of the federal Crown, Ontario moved rapidly to a position where policies for application of the Act and amendments to the regulations were set by Ontario. The federal minister is now in a position where he denies that he can unilaterally apply the Fisheries Act in Ontario. This may be a political judgement. By taking this position, the federal government has effectively abrogated its responsibility, a constitutional responsibility, and a responsibility conferred on it by Parliament to manage and protect fish and man's use of fish. Nowhere was this denial of responsibility more blatant than in the case of the mercury pollution of the English-Wabigoon Rivers. In spite of the overwhelming evidence that the river system should be closed to all fishing, the federal minister indicated that he could do nothing unless advised to do so by the Ontario government. The truth of the matter is that Ottawa has chosen to deny its responsibility for the fishery. In doing so, Ottawa denies the responsibility that it has for native people and the fisheries resource. Treaty # 3 guarantees the right of fishery, but Ottawa, by surrendering the fisheries management to Ontario, has relinquished any capability to manage the resource and, therefore, cannot meet its treaty commitments."

(Treaty # 3, Kenora, p. 2873)

Yet some people of Indian ancestry do not have any similar rights to hunt and fish as those "guaranteed" to status Indians by treaty and the Indian Act. The Metis people believe they have aboriginal rights which are not recognized. Their representatives told the Commission that they sought:

"... the right to use our land as a resource: to fish, hunt, farm, to build homes and harvest renewable resources... Metis people should be receiving a little share from the development of our Canada, a share of the profits. Indian people have reserves, special programs, medical services. What do Metis people get? Nothing! Our heritage is completely overlooked. We are not asking for Canada. If an Indian is allowed to catch two rabbits, we should be allowed to catch one. The legal difference between Metis and Indian has separated brother and sisters, and this is a very sad thing. Metis want recognition of aboriginal rights for economic, social and legal purposes."

(Lake Nipigon Metis Association, Geraldton, p. 1394)

The Ontario Metis and Non-status Indian Association explained how their people became "non-Indian Indians":

"Some of our ancestors just did not get on the treaty list when it was finalized. Others refused to sign it as it meant accepting the European view that the land could be sold or signed over. They knew it was not a thing owned by people, that the land was the land and the people belonged to it. Some families were in treaty at some time in the past but they got lost. Perhaps a secretary got tired of typing... Suddenly they were Indian but not Indian... Some of our people enfranchised¹ themselves out of treaty... so they could have full rights as citizens."

(Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association, Kenora, p. 2635)

¹Enfranchisement is a statutory process by which an Indian gives up both the benefits and burdens of the Indian Act. Section 110 of the Indian Act provides: "A person with respect to whom an order for enfranchisement is made under this Act shall from the date thereof or from the date of enfranchisement provided for therein be deemed not to be an Indian within the meaning of this Act or any other statute or law."

Native women face a particular problem with regard to their status in law as Indians.²

"When an Indian woman marries a Metis or a white man, the Indian people and the white government take away her rights as a native. But the Indian man is allowed to marry whom he chooses without losing his rights. Why should an Indian woman be penalized for marrying the man she loves? The Indian people are bitching about their native rights, and how the white people are forever screwing them out of their native rights... What do they think they are doing to the Indian women?"

(Lake Nipigon Metis Association, Geraldton, p. 1390)

²Section 12(1)(b) of the Indian Act provides that an Indian woman who marries someone other than a status Indian is not entitled to be registered under the Indian Act. This means that any status Indian woman marrying a non-status Indian or a non-Indian is automatically enfranchised. This is a particularly contentious issue for women in Canada, especially in that when an Indian man marries a woman who is not a status Indian, not only does he not lose his status as a registered Indian, but section (11)(F) provides that his wife is entitled to be registered under the Indian Act.

Representatives of one Metis organization stated that being signatories to a treaty³ would be beneficial:

"We would like to come back with a treaty and meet the Canadian government and the Indian people and say, 'Okay, we are the offspring of you and we want to sign this treaty with you?'"

(Lake Nipigon Metis Association, Geraldton, p. 1401)

³At least one such agreement does exist. In 1875, a group of Metis residing in the Rainy River area signed an adhesion to Treaty # 3 in which they were granted an 18-square mile area of land as their reserve.

Several people appearing before the Commission called for measures that would protect native people's relation to the land and restore their rights. Renegotiation of the treaties was often cited as a key factor in the resolution of Indian claims and a necessary precursor to any development scheme. Some hoped that the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment could play a special role:

"It is hoped that the Commission could address the question of native rights and claims and their relationship to development, and provide some insight and at least partial solutions to conflicts arising out of this area."

(Ministry of the Environment, Red Lake, p. 566)

Native people also saw the Commission as a potential problem-solver:

"This Commission is important to us because we want it to be the vehicle whereby the provincial government clarifies its relationship with the federal government with respect to the original treaties and the Indian Act, which controls every aspect of our lives. Provincial responsibilities to the native people must be clearly identified and documented."

(Muskat Dam Reserve, Osnaburgh, p. 1851)

It was pointed out that the signing of the treaties took place long ago (Treaty # 3 in 1873 and Treaty # 9 in 1905-06) and that vast changes have taken place since then. Consequently, the treaties are inappropriate because they do not address present-day realities:

"The town council (of Sioux Lookout) feels that this idea (renegotiation of the treaties) has a great deal of merit, and that the Commission should pass on a recommendation to the province. Surely it is beyond question that the uses to which the land is put is well beyond the understanding and intentions of the original signatories; and that changes of the last 50 years have produced unforeseen threats to the traditional occupations of native peoples."

(Town of Sioux Lookout, Sioux Lookout, p. 28)

Resolution of the problems involving aboriginal rights was also advocated by business groups who expressed concern that failure to resolve native claims could lead to a general stagnation of development:

"The question of native rights will have to be dealt with fairly and justly in the context of future development . . . This area offers the opportunity of jobs based on a permanent, renewable resource . . . To reject this potential development is not only naive, but economically irresponsible."

(Dryden District Chamber of Commerce, Dryden, p. 380)

"... should your work result in action by the government of Canada to deal with and resolve all outstanding matters relating to the aboriginal rights, your work will have been of enormous benefit not only to our Indian people, but to all Canadians."

(Kenora and District Chamber of Commerce, Kenora, p. 3074)

Yet support for special recognition of native rights and claims was not universal:

"While the native people live on the reserve, their treaty rights are respected. As far as I am concerned, when they choose to live on Crown lands they have no more rights than I, myself, have and should be governed by the same controls and regulations I must live with."

(Frederick Bergman, Ear Falls, p. 781)

Indian spokesmen indicated that they would press for control over their traditional lands:

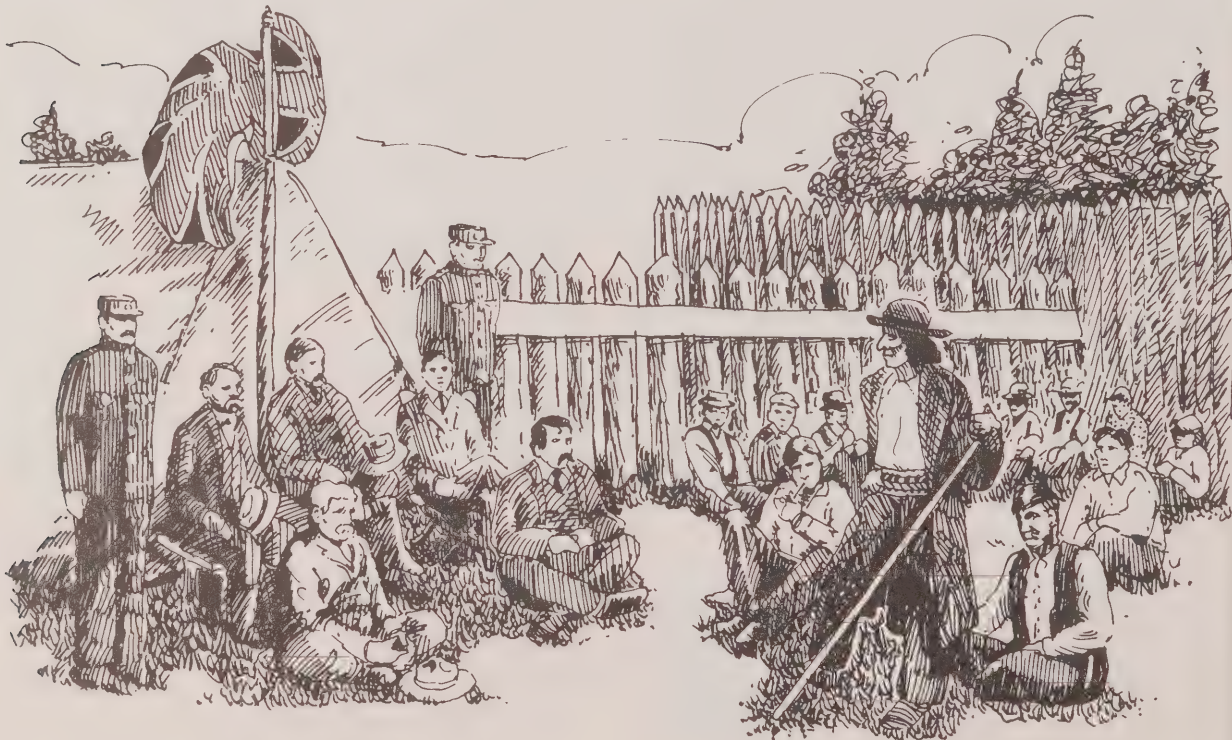
"The wealth in our land is ours. We intend to retain control over its production and use. I wish to stress once more that the Ojibway of Treaty #3 claim northwestern Ontario as their ancestral home. We understand the delicate balance of the northern ecology. We understand and we plan to conserve it. Conservation and control are our demands. We are asserting our rights as the aboriginal people of northwestern Ontario."

(Treaty # 3, Kenora, p. 2859)

Indian leaders have become more assertive in their claims for more control:

"We require a firm power base of legislation from which we can insist on the recognition and acceptance of our special status as a people with aboriginal rights. This recognition will facilitate the coming together of our various societies in the spirit of equality. It will eliminate racist and dependent relationships. With a strong Nishnawbe-Aski power base in our north, there would exist a real possibility of recovering power from Toronto for all northern peoples. Our people, with their special status, have a unique right to self-determination."

(Treaty # 9, Moosonee, p. 3087)



APPENDIX D

*The North-West Angle Treaty, Number Three*¹

ARTICLES OF A TREATY made and concluded this third day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-three, between Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, by her Commissioners, the Hon. Alexander Morris, Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Manitoba and the North-West Territories; Joseph Albert Norbert Provencher, and Simon James Dawson, of the one part; and the Saulteaux tribe of the Ojibbeway Indians, inhabitants of the country within the limits hereinafter defined and described, by their Chiefs, chosen and named as hereinafter mentioned, of the other part:

Whereas the Indians inhabiting the said country have, pursuant to an appointment made by the said Commissioners, been convened at a meeting at the North-West angle of the Lake of the Woods, to deliberate upon certain matters of interest to Her Most Gracious Majesty, of the one part, and the said Indians of the other;

And whereas the said Indians have been notified and informed by Her Majesty's said Commissioners, that it is the desire of Her Majesty to open up for settlement, immigration, and such other purposes as to Her Majesty may seem meet, a tract of country bounded and described as hereinafter mentioned, and to obtain the consent thereto of her Indian subjects inhabiting the said tract, and to make a treaty and arrange with them, so that there may be peace and good will between them and Her Majesty, and that they may know and be assured of what allowance they are to count upon and receive from Her Majesty's bounty and benevolence:

And whereas, the Indians of the said tract, duly convened in Council, as aforesaid, and being requested by Her Majesty's said Commissioners to name certain Chiefs and head men, who should be authorized on their behalf to conduct such negotiations, and sign any treaty to be founded thereon, and to become responsible to Her Majesty for the faithful performance by their respective bands of such obligations as shall be assumed by them, the said Indians have thereupon named the following persons for that purpose, that is to say: — Keetak-pay-pi-nais (Rainy River), Kitihi-gay-lake (Rainy River), Note-na-quahung (North-West Angle), Mawe-do-pe-nais (Rainy River), Pow-wa-sang (North-West Angle), Canda-com-igo-wi-ninie (North-West Angle), Pa-pa-ska-gin (Rainy River), May-no-wah-tau-ways-kung (North-West Angle), Kitchi-ne-ka-be-han (Rainy River), Sah-katch-eway (Lake Seul), Muka-day-wah-sin (Kettle Falls), Me-kie-sies (Rainy Lake, Fort Francis), Oos-con-na-geist (Rainy Lake), Wah-shis-kince (Eagle Lake), Rah-kie-y-ash (Flower Lake), Go-bay (Rainy Lake), Ka-me-ti-ash (White Fish Lake), Nee-sho-tal (Rainy River), Kee-gee-go-kay (Rainy River), Sha-shagance (Shoal Lake), Shah-win-na-bi-nais (Shoal Lake), Ay-ash-a-wash (Buffalo Point), Pay-ah-be-wash (White Fish Bay), Rah-tay-tay-pa-o-cutch (Lake of the Woods).

¹ Morris, the Hon. Alexander. *The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories*. Toronto: Coles, 1971, pp. 320-329.

And thereupon in open council the different bands having presented their Chiefs to the said Commissioners as the Chiefs and head men for the purposes aforesaid of the respective bands of Indians inhabiting the said district hereinafter described.

And whereas the said Commissioners then and there received and acknowledged the persons so presented as Chiefs and head men for the purposes aforesaid of the respective bands of Indians inhabiting the said district hereinafter described;

And whereas the said Commissioners have proceeded to negotiate a treaty with the said Indians, and the same has been finally agreed upon and concluded as follows, that is to say:

The Saulteaux tribe of the Ojibbeway Indians, and all other the Indians inhabiting the district hereinafter described and defined, do hereby cede, release, surrender, and yield up to the Government of the Dominion of Canada, for Her Majesty the Queen and her successors forever, all their rights, titles and privileges whatsoever to the lands included within the following limits, that is to say:

Commencing at a point on the Pigeon River route where the international boundary line between the territories of Great Britain and the United States intersects the height of land separating the waters running to Lake Superior from those flowing to Lake Winnipeg, thence northerly, westerly and easterly, along the height of land aforesaid, following its sinuosities, whatever their course may be, to the point at which the said height of land meets the summit of the water-shed from which the streams flow to Lake Nepigon, thence northerly and westerly, or whatever may be its course along the ridge separating the waters of the Nepigon and the Winnipeg to the height of land dividing the waters of the Albany and the Winnipeg, thence westerly and north-westerly along the height of land dividing the waters flowing to Hudson's Bay by the Albany or other rivers from those running to English River and the Winnipeg to a point on the said height of land bearing north forty-five degrees east from Fort Alexander at the mouth of the Winnipeg; thence south forty-five degrees west to Fort Alexander at the mouth of the Winnipeg; thence southerly along the eastern bank of the Winnipeg to the mouth of White Mouth River; thence southerly by the line described as in that part forming the eastern boundary of the tract surrendered by the Chippewa and Swampy Cree tribes of Indians to Her Majesty on the third of August, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-one, namely, by White Mouth River to White Mouth Lake and thence on a line having a general bearing of White Mouth River to the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude; thence by the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude to the Lake of the Woods, and from thence by the international boundary line to the place of beginning.

The tract comprised within the lines above described embracing an area of fifty-five thousand square miles, be the same more or less.

To have and to hold the same to Her Majesty the Queen and her successors forever.

And Her Majesty the Queen hereby agrees and undertakes to lay aside reserves for farming lands, due respect being had to lands at present cultivated

by the said Indians, and also to lay aside and reserve for the benefit of the said Indians, to be administered and dealt with for them by Her Majesty's Government of the Dominion of Canada, in such a manner as shall seem best, other reserves of land in the said territory hereby ceded, which said reserves shall be selected and set aside where it shall be deemed most convenient and advantageous for each band or bands of Indians, by the officers of the said Government appointed for that purpose, and such selection shall be so made after conference with the Indians: Provided, however, that such reserve whether for farming or other purposes shall in nowise exceed in all one square mile for each family of five, or in that proportion for larger or smaller families, and such selection shall be made if possible during the course of next summer or as soon thereafter as may be found practicable, it being understood, however, that if at the time of any such selection of any reserves as aforesaid, there are any settlers within the bounds of the lands reserved by any band, Her Majesty reserves the right to deal with such settlers as she shall deem just, so as not to diminish the extent of land allotted to Indians; and provided also that the aforesaid reserves of lands or any interest or right therein or appurtenant thereto, may be sold, leased or otherwise disposed of by the said Government for the use and benefit of the said Indians, with the consent of the Indians entitled thereto first had and obtained.

And with a view to show the satisfaction of Her Majesty with the behavior and good conduct of her Indians, she hereby, through her Commissioners, makes them a present of twelve dollars for each man, woman and child belonging to the bands here represented, in extinguishment of all claims heretofore preferred.

And further, Her Majesty agrees to maintain schools for instruction in such reserves hereby made as to her Government of her Dominion of Canada may seem advisable, whenever the Indians of the reserve shall desire it.

Her Majesty further agrees with her said Indians, that within the boundary of Indian reserves, until otherwise determined by the Government of the Dominion of Canada, no intoxicating liquor shall be allowed to be introduced or sold, and all laws now in force, or hereafter to be enacted to preserve her Indian subjects inhabiting the reserves, or living elsewhere within her North-West Territories, from the evil influence of the use of intoxicating liquors shall be strictly enforced.

Her Majesty further agrees with her said Indians, that they, the said Indians, shall have right to pursue their avocations of hunting and fishing throughout the tract surrendered as hereinbefore described, subject to such regulations as may from time to time be made by her Government of her Dominion of Canada, and saving and excepting such tracts as may from time to time be required to taken up for settlement, mining, lumbering or other purposes, by her said Government of the Dominion of Canada, or by any of the subjects thereof duly authorized therefor by the said Government.

It is further agreed between Her Majesty and her said Indians that such sections of the reserves above indicated as may at any time be required for public works or buildings, of what nature soever, may be appropriated for that purpose by Her Majesty's Government of the Dominion of Canada, due compensation being made for the value of any improvements thereon.

And further, that Her Majesty's Commissioners shall, as soon as possible,

after the execution of this treaty, cause to be taken an accurate census of all the Indians inhabiting the tract above described, distributing them in families, and shall in every year ensuing the date hereof at some period in each year, to be duly notified to the Indians, and at a place or places to be appointed for that purpose within the territory ceded, pay to each Indian person the sum of five dollars per head yearly.

It is further agreed between Her Majesty and the said Indians, that the sum of fifteen hundred dollars per annum shall be yearly and every year expended by Her Majesty in the purchase of ammunition, and twine for nets for the use of the said Indians.

It is further agreed between Her Majesty and the said Indians, that the following articles shall be supplied to any band of the said Indians who are now actually cultivating the soil, or who shall hereafter commence to cultivate the land, that is to say — two hoes for every family actually cultivating; also one spade per family as aforesaid; one plough for every ten families as aforesaid; five harrows for every twenty families as aforesaid; one scythe for every family as aforesaid; and also one axe and one cross-cut saw, one hand saw, one pit saw, the necessary files, one grindstone, one auger for each band, and also for each Chief for the use of his band, one chest of ordinary carpenter's tools; also for each band, enough wheat, barley, potatoes and oats to plant the land actually broken up for cultivation by such band; also for each band, one yoke of oxen, one bull and four cows; all the aforesaid articles to be given once for all the encouragement of the practice of agriculture among the Indians.

It is further agreed between Her Majesty and the said Indians, that each Chief, duly recognized as such, shall receive an annual salary of twenty-five dollars per annum, and each subordinate officer, not exceeding three for each band, shall receive fifteen dollars per annum; and each such Chief and subordinate officer as aforesaid shall also receive, once in every three years, a suitable suit of clothing; and each Chief shall receive, in recognition of the closing of the treaty, a suitable flag and medal.

And the undersigned Chiefs, on their own behalf and on behalf of all other Indians inhabiting the tract within ceded, do hereby solemnly promise and engage to strictly observe this treaty, and also to conduct and behave themselves as good and loyal subjects of Her Majesty the Queen. They promise and engage that they will, in all respects obey and abide by the law; that they will maintain peace and good order between each other, and also between themselves and other tribes of Indians, and between themselves and others of Her Majesty's subjects, whether Indians or whites, now inhabiting or hereafter to inhabit any party of the said ceded tract; and that they will not molest the person or property of any inhabitant of such ceded tract, or the property of Her Majesty the Queen, or interfere with or trouble any person passing or travelling through the said tract or any part thereof; and that they will aid and assist the officers of Her Majesty in bringing to justice and punishment any Indian offending against the stipulations of this treaty, or infringing the laws in force in the country so ceded.

In witness whereof, Her Majesty's said Commissioners and the said Indian Chiefs have hereunto subscribed and set their hands, at the north-west angle of the Lake of the Woods, this day and year herein first above-named.

Adhesion of Lac Seul Indians, Lac Seul, 9th June, 1874

We, the Chiefs and Councillors of Lac Seul, Seul Trout and Sturgeon Lakes, subscribe and set our marks, that we and our followers will abide by the articles of the treaty made and concluded with the Indians at the north-west angle of the Lake of the Woods, on the third day of October, in the year of our lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-three, between Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, by Her Commissioners, Hon. Alexander Morris, Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba and the North-West Territories, Joseph Albert, N. Provencher and Simon J. Dawson, of the one part, and the Saulteaux tribes of Ojebewas Indians, inhabitants of the country as defined by the Treaty aforesaid.

In witness whereof, Her Majesty's Indian Agent and the Chiefs and Councillors have hereto set their hands at Lac Seul, on the 9th day of June, 1874.

APPENDIX E

*The Lake Winnipeg Treaty, Number Five*¹

ARTICLES OF A TREATY made and concluded at Berens River the Twentieth day of September, and at Norway House the twenty-fourth day of September in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-five, between Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, by her Commissioners, the Honorable Alexander Morris, Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Manitoba and the North-West Territories, and the Honorable James McKay, of the one part, and the Saulteaux and Swampy Cree Tribes of Indians, inhabitants of the country within the limits hereinafter defined and described by their Chiefs, chosen and named as hereinafter mentioned, of the other part:

Whereas the Indians inhabiting the said country have, pursuant to an appointment made by the said Commissioners, been convened at meetings at Berens River and Norway House, to deliberate upon certain matters of interest to Her Most Gracious Majesty, of the one part, and the said Indians of the other;

¹ Morris, the Hon. Alexander. *The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories*. Toronto: Coles, 1971, pp. 342-350.

And whereas the said Indians have been notified and informed by Her Majesty's said Commissioners, that it is the desire of Her Majesty to open up for settlement, immigration, and such other purposes as to Her Majesty may seem meet, a tract of country bounded and described as hereinafter mentioned, and to obtain the consent thereto of her Indian subjects inhabiting the said tract, and to make a treaty and arrange with them, so that there may be peace and good will between them and Her Majesty, and that they may know and be assured of what allowance they are to count upon and receive from Her Majesty's bounty and benevolence;

And whereas, the Indians of the said tract, duly convened in council as aforesaid, and being requested by Her Majesty's said Commissioners to name certain Chiefs and head men, who should be authorized on their behalf to conduct such negotiations and sign any treaty to be founded thereon, and to become responsible to Her Majesty for the faithful performance by their respective bands of such obligations as shall be assumed by them, the said Indians have thereupon named the following persons for that purpose, that is to say: — For the Indians within the Berens River region and their several bands:

Nah-wee-kee-sick-quah-yash, Chief; Kah-nah-wah-kee-wee-nin and Nah-kee-quan-nay-yash, Councillors, and Pee-wah-noo-wee-nin, of Poplar River, Councillor; for the Indians within the Norway House region and their several bands, David Rundle, Chief; James Cochrane, Harry Constatag and Charles Pisequinip, Councillors; and Ta-pas-ta-num, or Donald William Sinclair Ross, Chief; James Garriock and Proud McKay, Councillors;

And thereupon in open council, the different bands having presented their Chiefs to the said Commissioners as the Chiefs and head men, for the purposes aforesaid, of the respective bands of Indians inhabiting the said district hereinafter described;

And whereas, the said Commissioners then and there received and acknowledged the persons so presented as Chiefs and head men, for the purposes aforesaid, of the respective bands of Indians inhabiting the said district hereinafter described;

And whereas, the said Commissioners have proceeded to negotiate a treaty with the said Indians and the same has been finally agreed upon and concluded as follows, that is to say:

The Saulteaux and Swampy Cree tribes of Indians and all other the Indians inhabiting the district hereinafter described and defined, do hereby cede, release, surrender, and yield up to the Government of the Dominion of Canada, for Her Majesty the Queen and her successors forever, all their rights, titles and privileges whatsoever to the lands included within the following limits, that is to say:

Commencing at the north corner or junction of Treaties Numbers One and Three, thence easterly along the boundary of Treaty Number Three to the height of land at the north-east corner of the said treaty limits, a point dividing the waters of the Albany and Winnipeg Rivers, thence due north along the said height of land to a point intersected by the 53° of north latitude and thence north-westerly to Favourable Lake, thence following the east shore of said lake

to its northern limit, thence north-westerly to the north end of Lake Winnipegosis, thence westerly to the height of land called "Robinson's Portage," thence north-westerly to the east end of Cross Lake, thence north-westerly crossing Fox's Lake, thence north-westerly to the north end of Split Lake, thence south-westerly to Pipestone Lake, on Burntwood River, thence south-westerly to the western point of John Scott's Lake, thence south-westerly to the north shore of Beaver Lake, thence south-westerly to the west end of Cumberland Lake, thence due south to the Saskatchewan River, thence due south to the north-west corner of the northern limits of Treaty Number Four, including all territory within the said limits, and all islands on all lakes within the said limits as above described, and it being also understood that in all cases where lakes form the treaty limits, ten miles from the shore of the lake should be included in the treaty;

And also all their rights, titles and privileges whatsoever to all other lands wherever situated in the North-West Territories, or in any other Province or portion of Her Majesty's Dominions situated and being within the Dominion of Canada;

The tract comprised within the lines above described embracing an area of one hundred thousand square miles, be the same, more or less;

To have and to hold the same to Her Majesty the Queen and her successors forever.

And Her Majesty the Queen hereby agrees and undertakes to lay aside reserves for farming lands, due respect being had to lands at present cultivated by the said Indians, and other reserves for the benefit of the said Indians to be administered and dealt with for them by Her Majesty's Government of the Dominion of Canada; provided all such reserves shall not exceed in all one hundred and sixty acres for each family of five, or in that proportion for larger or smaller families in manner following, that is to say: — For the band of Saulteaux in the Berens River region now settled, or who may within two years settle therein, a reserve commencing at the outlet of Berens River into Lake Winnipeg, and extending along the shores of said lake and up said river and into the interior behind said lake and river, so as to comprehend one hundred and sixty acres for each family of five, a reasonable addition being, however, to be made by Her Majesty to the extent of the said reserve for the inclusion in the tract so reserved of swamps, but reserving the free navigation of the said lake and river, and free access to the shores and waters thereof for Her Majesty and all her subjects, and excepting thereout such land as may have been granted to or stipulated to be held by the Hundson's Bay Company, and also such land as Her Majesty or her successors may in her good pleasure see fit to grant to the mission established at or near Berens River by the Methodist Church of Canada, for a church, school-house, parsonage, burial ground and farm, or other mission purposes; and to the Indians residing at Poplar River, falling into Lake Winnipeg north of Berens River, a reserve not exceeding one hundred and sixty acres to each family of five, respecting as much as possible their present improvements; and inasmuch as a number of the Indians now residing in and about Norway House, of the band of whom David Rundle is Chief, are desirous of removing to a locality where they can cultivate the soil, Her Majesty the Queen hereby agrees to lay aside a reserve on the west side of Lake Winnipeg, in the vicinity of Fisher River, so as to give one hundred acres to each family of five, or in that proportion for larger or smaller families, who shall remove to the said locality

within "three years," it being estimated that ninety families or thereabout will remove within the said period, and that a reserve will be laid aside sufficient for that or the actual number; and it is further agreed that those of the band who remain in the vicinity of "Norway House" shall retain for their own use their present gardens, buildings and improvements until the same be departed with by the Queen's Government, with their consent first had and obtained for their individual benefit, if any value can be realized therefor; and with regard to the band of Wood Indians of whom Ta-pas-ta-num or Donald William Sinclair Ross is Chief, a reserve at Otter Island on the west side of Cross Lake of one hundred and sixty acres for each family of five, or in that proportion for smaller families, reserving however to Her Majesty, her successors, and her subjects, the free navigation of all lakes and rivers, and free access to the shores thereof; Provided, however, that Her Majesty reserves the right to deal with any settlers within the bounds of any lands reserved for any band as she shall deem fit, and also that the aforesaid reserves of land, or any interest therein, may be sold or otherwise disposed of by Her Majesty's Government for the use and benefit of the said Indians entitled thereto, with their consent first had and obtained; and with a view to shew the satisfaction of Her Majesty with the behaviour and good conduct of her Indians she hereby through her Commissioners makes them a present of five dollars for each man, woman and child belonging to the bands here represented, in extinguishment of all claims heretofore preferred;

And further, Her Majesty agrees to maintain schools for instruction in such reserves hereby made as to her Government of the Dominion of Canada may seem advisable, whenever the Indians of the reserve shall desire it;

Her Majesty further agrees with her said Indians, that within the boundary of Indian reserves, until otherwise determined by her Government of the Dominion of Canada, no intoxicating liquor shall be allowed to be introduced or sold, and all laws now in force, or hereafter to be enacted, to preserve her Indian subjects inhabiting the reserves or living elsewhere within her North-West Territories, from the evil influence of the use of intoxicating liquors, shall be strictly enforced;

Her Majesty further agrees with her said Indians that they, the said Indians, shall have right to pursue their avocations of hunting and fishing throughout the tract surrendered as hereinbefore described, subject to such regulations as may from time to time be made by her Government of her Dominion of Canada, and saving and excepting such tracts as may from time to time be required or taken up for settlement, mining, lumbering or other purposes by her said Government of the Dominion of Canada, or by any of the subjects thereof duly authorized therefor by the said Government;

It is further agreed between Her Majesty and her said Indians, that such sections of the reserves above indicated as may at any time be required for public works or buildings, of what nature soever, may be appropriated for that purpose by Her Majesty's Government of the Dominion of Canada, due compensation being made for the value of any improvement thereon;

And further, that Her Majesty's Commissioners shall, as soon as possible after the execution of this treaty, cause to be taken an accurate census of all the Indians inhabiting the tract above described, distributing them in families, and shall in every year ensuing the date thereof, at some period in each year, to be duly notified to the Indians, and at a place or places to be appointed for

that purpose within the territory ceded, pay to each Indian person the sum of five dollars per head yearly;

It is further agreed between Her Majesty and the said Indians that the sum of five hundred dollars per annum shall be yearly and every year expended by Her Majesty in the purchase of ammunition and twine for nets for the use of the said Indians, in manner following, that is to say: — In the reasonable discretion as regards the distribution thereof among the Indians inhabiting the several reserves or otherwise included herein, of Her Majesty's Indian Agent having the supervision of this treaty;

It is further agreed between Her Majesty and the said Indians that the following articles shall be supplied to any band of the said Indians who are now cultivating the soil, or who shall hereafter commence to cultivate the land, that is to say: — Two hoes for every family actually cultivating; also one spade per family as aforesaid; one plough for every ten families as aforesaid; five harrows for every twenty families as aforesaid; one scythe for every family as aforesaid, and also one axe; and also one cross-cut saw, one hand saw, one pit saw, the necessary files, one grindstone, and one auger for each band; and also for each Chief for the use of his band, one chest of ordinary carpenter's tools; also, for each band, enough of wheat, barley, potatoes and oats to plant the land actually broken up for cultivation by such band; also, for each band, one yoke of oxen, one bull, and four cows: all the aforesaid articles to be given *once for all* for the encouragement of the practice of agriculture among the Indians.

It is further agreed between Her Majesty and the said Indians, that each Chief, duly recognized as such, shall receive an annual salary of twenty-five dollars per annum, and each subordinate officer, not exceeding three for each band, shall receive fifteen dollars per annum; and each such Chief and subordinate officer as aforesaid shall also receive, once every three years, a suitable suit of clothing; and each Chief shall receive, in recognition of the closing of the treaty, a suitable flag and medal.

And the undersigned Chiefs, on their own behalf, and on behalf of all other Indians inhabiting the tract within ceded, do hereby solemnly promise and engage to strictly observe this treaty, and also to conduct and behave themselves as good and loyal subjects of Her Majesty the Queen. They promise and engage that they will, in all respects, obey and abide by the law, and they will maintain peace and good order between each other, and also between themselves and other tribes of Indians, and between themselves and others of Her Majesty's subjects, whether Indians or whites, now inhabiting or hereafter to inhabit any part of the said ceded tracts; and that they will not molest the person or property of any inhabitant of such ceded tracts, or the property of Her Majesty the Queen, or interfere with or trouble any person passing or travelling through the said tracts or any part thereof: and that they will aid and assist the officers of Her Majesty in bringing to justice and punishment any Indian offending against the stipulations of this treaty, or infringing the laws in force in the country so ceded.

In witness whereof, Her Majesty's said Commissioners and the said Indian Chiefs have hereunto subscribed and set their hands at Berens River, this twentieth day of September, A.D. 1875, and at Norway House, on the twenty-fourth day of the month and year herein first above named.

APPENDIX F

The James Bay Treaty, Treaty No. 9¹

ARTICLES OF A TREATY made and concluded at the several dates mentioned therein, in the year of Our Lord one thousand and nine hundred and five, between His Most Gracious Majesty the King of Great Britain and Ireland, by His Commissioners, Duncan Campbell Scott, of Ottawa, Ontario, Esquire, and Samuel Stewart, of Ottawa, Ontario, Esquire; and Daniel George MacMartin, of Perth, Ontario, Esquire, representing the province of Ontario, of the one part; and the Ojibeway, Cree and other Indians, inhabitants of the territory within the limits hereinafter defined and described, by their chiefs, and headmen hereunto subscribed, of the other part: —

Whereas, the Indians inhabiting the territory hereinafter defined have been convened to meet a commission representing His Majesty's government of the Dominion of Canada at certain places in the said territory in this present year of 1905, to deliberate upon certain matters of interest to His Most Gracious Majesty, of the one part, and the said Indians of the other.

And, whereas, the said Indians have been notified and informed by His Majesty's said commission that it is His desire to open for settlement, immigration, trade, travel, mining, lumbering, and such other purposes as to His Majesty may seem meet, a tract of country, bounded and described as hereinafter mentioned, and to obtain the consent thereto of His Indian subjects inhabiting the said tract, and to make a treaty and arrange with them, so that there may be peace and good-will between them and His Majesty's other subjects, and that His Indian people may know and be assured of what allowances they are to count upon and receive from His Majesty's bounty and benevolence.

And whereas, the Indians of the said tract, duly convened in council at the respective points named hereunder, and being requested by His Majesty's commissioners to name certain chiefs and headmen who should be authorized on their behalf to conduct such negotiations and sign any treaty to be found thereon, and to become responsible to His Majesty for the faithful performance by their respective bands of such obligations as shall be assumed by them, the said Indians have therefore acknowledged for that purpose the several chiefs and headmen who have subscribed hereto.

And whereas, the said commissioners have proceeded to negotiate a treaty with the Ojibeway, Cree and other Indians, inhabiting the district hereinafter defined and described, and the same has been agreed upon, and concluded by the respective bands at the dates mentioned hereunder, the said Indians do hereby cede, release, surrender and yield up to the government of the Dominion of Canada, for His Majesty the King and His successors for ever, all their rights titles and privileges whatsoever, to the lands included within the following limits, that is to say: That portion or tract of land lying and being in the province of Ontario, bounded on the south by the height of land and the northern boundaries of the territory ceded by the Robinson-Superior Treaty of 1850, and the

¹ *The James Bay Treaty, Treaty #9 made in 1905 and 1906 and Adhesions made in 1929 and 1930.* Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1964, pp. 19-31.

Robinson-Huron Treaty of 1850, and bounded on the east and north by the boundaries of the said Province of Ontario as defined by law, and on the west by a part of the eastern boundary of the territory ceded by the North-west Angle Treaty No. 3; the said land containing an area of ninety thousand square miles, more or less.

And also, the said Indian rights, titles and privileges whatsoever to all other lands wherever situated in Ontario, Quebec, Manitoba, the District of Keewatin, or in any other portion of the Dominion of Canada.

To have and to hold the same to His Majesty the King and His successors for ever.

And His Majesty the King hereby agrees with the said Indians that they shall have the right to pursue their usual vocations of hunting, trapping and fishing throughout the tract surrendered as heretofore described, subject to such regulations as may from time to time be made by the government of the country, acting under the authority of His Majesty, and saving and excepting such tracts as may be required or taken up from time to time for settlement, mining, lumbering, trading or other purposes.

And His Majesty the King hereby agrees and undertakes to lay aside reserves for each band, the same not to exceed in all one square mile for each family of five, or in that proportion for larger and smaller families; and the location of the said reserves having been arranged between His Majesty's commissioners and the chiefs and headmen, as described in the schedule of reserves hereto attached, the boundaries thereof to be hereafter surveyed and defined, the said reserves when confirmed shall be held and administered by His Majesty for the benefit of the Indians free of all claims, liens, or trusts by Ontario.

Provided, however, that His Majesty reserves the right to deal with any settlers within the bounds of any lands reserved for any band as He may see fit; and also that the aforesaid reserves of land, or any interest therein, may be sold or otherwise disposed of by His Majesty's government for the use and benefit of the said Indians entitled thereto, with their consent first had and obtained; but in no wise shall the said Indians, or any of them, be entitled to sell or otherwise alienate any of the lands allotted to them as reserves.

It is further agreed between His said Majesty and His Indian subjects that such portions of the reserves and lands above indicated as may at any time be required for public works, buildings, railways, or roads of whatsoever nature may be appropriated for that purpose by His Majesty's government of the Dominion of Canada, due compensation being made to the Indians for the value of any improvements thereon, and an equivalent in land, money or other consideration for the area of the reserve so appropriated.

And with a view to show the satisfaction of His Majesty with the behaviour and good conduct of His Indians, and in extinguishment of all their past claims, He hereby, through His commissioners, agrees to make each Indian a present of eight dollars in cash.

His Majesty also agrees that next year, and annually afterwards for ever, He will cause to be paid to the said Indians in cash, at suitable places and dates, of

which the said Indians shall be duly notified, four dollars, the same, unless there be some exceptional reason, to be paid only to the heads of families for those belonging thereto.

Further, His Majesty agrees to pay such salaries of teachers to instruct the receive a suitable flag and a copy of this treaty to be for the use of his band.

Further, His Majesty agrees to pay such salaries of teachers to instruct the children of said Indians, and also to provide such school buildings and educational equipment as may seem advisable to His Majesty's government of Canada.

And the undersigned Ojibeway, Cree and other chiefs and headmen, on their own behalf and on behalf of all the Indians whom they represent, do hereby solemnly promise and engage to strictly observe this treaty, and also to conduct and behave themselves as good and loyal subjects of His Majesty the King.

They promise and engage that they will, in all respects, obey and abide by the law; that they will maintain peace between each other and between themselves and other tribes of Indians, and between themselves and others of His Majesty's subjects, whether Indians, half-breeds or whites, this year inhabiting and hereafter to inhabit any part of the said ceded territory; and that they will not molest the person or property of any inhabitant of such ceded tract, or of any other district or country, or interfere with or trouble any person passing or travelling through the said tract, or any part thereof, and that they will assist the officers of His Majesty in bringing to justice and punishment any Indian offending against the stipulations of this treaty, or infringing the law in force in the country so ceded.

And it is further understood that this treaty is made and entered into subject to an agreement dated the third day of July, nineteen hundred and five, between the Dominion of Canada and Province of Ontario, which is hereto attached.

In witness whereof, His Majesty's said commissioners and the said chiefs and headmen hereunto set their hands at the places and times set forth in the year herein first above written.

Signed at Osnaburg on the twelfth day of July, 1905, by His Majesty's commissioners and the chiefs and headmen in the presence of the undersigned witnesses, after having been first interpreted and explained.

Adhesions to Treaty Number Nine

WHEREAS His Most Gracious Majesty George V, by the Grace of God of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India, has been pleased to extend the provisions of the Treaty known as The James Bay Treaty or Treaty Number Nine, of which a true copy is hereto annexed, to the Indians inhabiting the hereinafter described territory adjacent to the territory described in the said Treaty, in consideration of the said Indians agreeing to surrender and yield up to His Majesty all their rights, titles and privileges to the hereinafter described territory.

AND WHEREAS we, the Ojibeway, Cree and all other Indians inhabiting the hereinafter described Territory, having had communication of the foregoing Treaty and of the intention of His Most Gracious Majesty to extend its provisions to us, through His Majesty's Commissioners, Walter Charles Cain, B.A., of the City of Toronto, and Herbert Nathaniel Awrey, of the City of Ottawa, have agreed to surrender and yield up to His Majesty all our rights, titles and privileges to the said territory.

NOW THEREFORE we, the said Ojibeway, Cree and other Indian inhabitants, in consideration of the provisions of the said foregoing Treaty being extended to us, do hereby cede, release, surrender and yield up to the Government of the Dominion of Canada for His Majesty the King and His Successors forever, all our rights, titles and privileges whatsoever in all that tract of land, and land covered by water in the Province of Ontario, comprising part of the District of Kenora (Patricia Portion) containing one hundred and twenty-eight thousand three hundred and twenty square miles, more or less, being bounded on the South by the Northerly limit of Treaty Number Nine; on the West by Easterly limits of Treaties Numbers Three and Five, and the boundary between the Provinces of Ontario and Manitoba; on the North by the waters of Hudson Bay, and on the East by the waters of James Bay and including all islands, islets and rocks, waters and land covered by water within the said limits, and also all the said Indian rights, titles and privileges whatsoever to all other lands and lands covered by water, wherever situated in the Dominion of Canada.

TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the same to His Majesty the King and His Successors forever.

AND we, the said Ojibeway, Cree and other Indian inhabitants, represented herein by our Chiefs and Councillors presented as such by the Bands, do hereby agree to accept the several provisions, payments and other benefits, as stated in the said Treaty, and solemnly promise and engage to abide by, carry out and fulfil all the stipulations, obligations and conditions therein on the part of the said Chiefs and Indians therein named, to be observed and performed, and in all things to conform to the articles of the said Treaty as if we ourselves had been originally contracting parties thereto.

AND HIS MAJESTY through His said Commissioners agrees and undertakes to set aside reserves for each band as provided by the said aforementioned Treaty, at such places or locations as may be arranged between the said Commissioners and the Chiefs and headmen of each Band.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, His Majesty's said Commissioners and the said Chiefs and headmen have hereunto subscribed their names at the places and times hereinafter set forth.

SIGNED at Trout Lake, on the Fifth day of July, 1929, by His Majesty's Commissioners and the Chief and headmen in the presence of the undersigned witnesses after having been first interpreted and explained.

APPENDIX G

Representations made to the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment during Preliminary Hearings

SIOUX LOOKOUT — November 7, 1977

- Town of Sioux Lookout, John E. Parry
- Lac Seul Band, Chief R. Ningewance
- Ministry of Northern Affairs, Honourable Leo Bernier
- Grand Council Treaty #9, Wilbert Jones
- Tom Fiddler
- Grand Council Treaty #9, Chief A. Rickard, President
- Grand Council Treaty #9, Wally McKay, Vice-President
- Grand Council Treaty #9, Chief C. O'Keese, Vice-President
- Northwestern Associated Chambers of Commerce, Arnold Beebe, President
- Walter Thompson
- Wilfred Wingenroth
- Ben Garrett
- Mrs. F. Woolner
- Laura Switzer

SIOUX LOOKOUT — November 8, 1977

- Ontario Forest Industries Association, Bob Laughlin, Manager
- The Great Lakes Paper Company, Warren S. Moore, President
- National and Provincial Parks Association of Canada, David Bates
- Children's Aid Society of the District of Kenora, John Parry
- Family and Children's Services of the District of Kenora, Joyce Timpson
- Man-O-Min Wild Rice Co-operative, Jim Windigo
- Slate Falls Airways, Glen Clarke
- Wesley Houston
- York University, Faculty of Environmental Studies, Joe De Pencier and Sue Farkas
- Archdeacon Kaye, Anglican Rector, Sioux Lookout
- Health and Welfare Canada, Sioux Lookout Zone Hospital, Dr. G. Goldthorpe
- Ministry of Natural Resources, L. Ringham, Assistant Deputy Minister and R.J. Burgar, Director, Land Use Co-ordination Branch
- Armstrong Metis Association, Hector King
- Linda Pelton
- Tom Terry
- Ernie Farlinger
- Patricia Air Transport Limited, R.J. Burnett, Secretary-Treasurer
- Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Bill Coughlin, Chairman
- Brian Anderson
- Cathy Love
- Sioux Lookout Community Centre Board, Howard B. Lockhart
- Daily Bulletin, Stuart Cummings, Publisher
- Robert E. Bell
- Scott Landis
- Ruth Ingram
- Ifka Filipovich
- Helen Acton
- Michael Quince
- Mary Davies

DRYDEN — November 9, 1977

- The Dryden Observer, Alex Wilson, Publisher
- Town of Dryden, G. Rowat, Mayor
- Dryden Chamber of Commerce, Patrick Skillen, President
- Northern Ontario District Council of Lumber and Sawmill Workers Union, T. Mior
- Kenora District Camp Owners Association, Leo Colvin, President
- Grand Council Treaty #3, John Kelly, Grand Chief and Willie Wilson
- Anti-Mercury Ojibway Group (A-MOG), Chief Roy McDonald and Chief Simon Fobister
- Northwest Ontario Travel Association, Allan Hovi, General Manager
- Canadian Paperworkers Union, Local 105, A.G. Johnson
- Ministry of Agriculture and Food, Elmer Lick
- Ontario Public School Men Teachers Federation, Dryden District, J.R. Livingston, President
- Christopher Thomas
- Ralph Sullivan

RED LAKE — November 14, 1977

- Tri-Municipal Committee of the Towns of Balmertown, Ear Falls and Red Lake, Stanley Leschuk, Chairman
- Ontario-Minnesota Pulp and Paper Company Limited, James Williams, President
- Reed Limited, Kenneth D. Greaves, Senior Vice-President
- Cathy Morgan
- Vince Keller
- Doreen Heinrichs and Dana Robbins
- Canadian Paperworkers Union, Thomas Curley, Vice-President
- Madsen Community Association, David Symondson
- Doug Miranda
- Walter Papiel
- Ministry of the Environment, Walter Giles, Assistant Deputy Minister
- Red Lake Businessmen's Association, K. McLeod
- Red Lake District Camp Operators Association, Hugh Carlson
- The Red Lake Inter Agency Co-Ordinating Committee, Cathy Wilson
- Helen Garrett
- Health Committee for Senior Citizens, Ellie Lemon

RED LAKE — November 15, 1977

- Campbell Red Lake Mines, Al Ludwig, General Superintendent
- Cochenour Willans Gold Mines, J.E. Fahlgren
- Pikangikum Band, Chief Ben Quill
- Taking Responsible Environmental and Economic Safeguards (T.R.E.E.S.), Jean Evans and Ron Robinson
- Association of Professional Engineers, Lake of the Woods Chapter, Duncan Wilson
- Green Airways, George Green
- Griffith Mine, John Jeffries, President
- Red Lake Businessmen's Association, David Meadows
- James C. Seeley
- Tom Faess
- Ormond Sharpe

- Fiona and Terry Robinson
- Hugh Carlson

EAR FALLS — November 16, 1977

- Tri-Municipal Committee, Stan Leschuk, Reeve, Township of Ear Falls, D'Arcy Halligan, Secretary, Tri-Municipal Committee and Mrs. Carl Butterfield, Deputy Reeve, Red Lake
- Ear Falls and Perrault Falls Chamber of Commerce, Bob Ahlers
- Ministry of Natural Resources, R. Riley and Peter Anderson
- Frederick Bergman
- Ontario Professional Foresters Association, John Blair
- Ministry of Correctional Services, Fred Boden and Eric Huddlestone
- Delia and Alex Rosenthal
- Dr. H.C. Maynard
- Red Lake Board of Education, Wayne Seller
- Ear Falls Metis and Non-Status Indian Association, Cheryl Smith

TIMMINS — November 23, 1977

- Timmins, City of, Economic Advisory Board, M. Doody, Mayor
- Ministry of Treasury, Economics and Intergovernmental Affairs, D. Stevenson
- Town of Kapuskasing, Maurice Deschamps
- Ontario Paper Company Limited, J. Simmons, Vice-President
- Timmins-Porcupine Chamber of Commerce, John Huggins
- Canadian Association in Support of the Native Peoples, Ann Marshall
- Unorganized Communities of Northeastern Ontario, Gerard Violette
- Douglas Pimlott
- Ministry of Agriculture and Food, N. Tarleton and G. D'Aoust
- Onakawana Development Limited, Olaf Wolff, Vice-President
- Project North, Karmel Taylor-McCullum
- Ontario New Democratic Party Caucus, Jim Foulds, MPP and Marion Bryden, MPP
- Ontario Mining Association, J.M. Hughes, Executive Director and J. Ridout, Assistant Executive Director
- Northern Ontario Heritage Party, Ed Deibel
- Canadian Wildlife Service, Bruce Switzer
- Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters, Brad Sloan
- Northern College of Applied Arts and Technology, J.H. Drysdale, President
- Cochrane Temiskaming Working Group for the Developmentally Handicapped, J.H. Drysdale

TIMMINS — November 24, 1977

- Canadian Environmental Law Association, Paul Gavrel
- Grand Council Treaty #9, Chief A. Rickard, President
- Dr. John Spence
- Brunswick House Band, Chief Fred Neshawabin
- Mattagami Junior Band Council, Barbara Naveau
- Mattagami Band, Chief Willis McKay
- Mattachewan Band, Chief George Baptiste
- Michael Patrick
- Stanley Smith
- Cochrane Board of Trade, Talson Rody

- Ontario Northland Transportation Commission, George Payne
- Ministry of Revenue, M. O'Dowd and G. Picard
- Town of Cochrane, Maurice Hotte, Mayor
- Spruce Falls Power and Paper Company Limited, George Ingram
- Prospectors and Developers Association of Ontario, R. Allarston
- Garden River Band, Chief R. Boissoneau
- Ontario Trappers Association, A.J. Lalonde
- Ontario Hydro, John Dobson, Vern Coles and Al Rogers
- Ontario Abitibi Band, Chief Jim Diamond
- Grand Council Treaty #9, Gilbert Faries

GERALDTON — November 28, 1977

- Ministry of Transportation and Communications, J.C. Sherwood
- Polar Gas Project, Bruce MacOdrum
- Geraldton Composite High School, A.J. Korkola, Principal
- Union of Ontario Indians, D. Riley, President
- Father Brian Tiffin
- George Marek
- York University, Polar Gas Case Study Group, Greg Thompson and Jan MacPherson
- Ontario Native Women's Association, Marlene Pierre, President
- Town of Geraldton, M. Power, Mayor
- Collège de Hearst, Raymond Tremblay, Director
- Nordinord and Boreal, Gilbert Heroux
- Fort Hope Band, Chief Charlie Okeese
- Long Lac Band, Chief Gabriel Echum
- Constance Lake Band, Chief Bentley Cheechoo
- Martin Falls Band, Chief Eli Moonias
- Constance Lake Youth Council, Rose Le Fleur, Cecile Sutherland, Riley Anderson, and Teresa Sutherland
- Pioneer Club, Geraldton Senior Citizens, Ginger Ball and Patricia Boyle
- Lake Nipigon Metis Association, Michael McGuire
- Millie Barrett
- Tommy Mattinas
- Mathew Sutherland
- John Evans
- Ange Veilleux

NAKINA — November 29, 1977

- Kimberly-Clark Pulp and Paper Co., G.L. Puttock, President
- Township of Longlac, Reginald Hopkin, Reeve
- Ontario Hydro, G. Patterson
- Ontario Public School Men Teachers Federation, Geraldton District, Jay Daiter
- Improvement District of Nakina, D. Horne, Secretary-Treasurer
- Nakina Tourist Area Outfitters Association, A. Rampton
- Canadian National Railway, J.R. Burns, Area Manager
- Nakina Chamber of Commerce, Peggy Swanson
- Daniel Yoki and Greg Bourdignon
- Canon John Long
- Norman Skinner
- Lakehead University, Native Students Association, Claudia Irons and Ruby Morris

- Grand Council Treaty #3, Chief Peter Kelly
- Mrs. A.R. Mercier
- Northwestern Ontario International Women's Decade Co-ordinating Council, Julie Fels and Leona Lang
- Stan Hunnisett
- Terrence Brian Swanson
- S.W. Lukinuk

PICKLE LAKE — December 5, 1977

- Bell Canada, Perry Brisbin
- Steep Rock Iron Mines, Larry Lamb
- Ontario Northland Transportation Commission, G. Payne and Don Wallace
- Crolancia High School, grades 9 and 10, Bob Walli
- Don McKelvie
- Ministry of Transportation and Communications, Victor Handforth and Jack Willock
- A.E. Brazeau
- Patricia Home Owners Association, Brian Booth
- Improvement District of Pickle Lake, Brian Booth
- Ministry of Northern Affairs, Phil Mostow
- UMEX Corporation, Doug Pittet
- Linda and Dan Pickett
- Connell and Ponsford District School Board, J. Murray, Chairman
- Don Koval
- Stan Werbisky
- Ontario Public Interest Research Group, Waterloo Local, T. Cheskey and P. Weller
- Henry Munro
- Ron Slemko
- Rhys Rissman

OSNABURGH — December 6, 1977

- Grand Council Treaty #9, Chief Wallace McKay
- Jeremiah Sainnawap
- James Maskaeyash
- Magnus James
- Gordie Beady
- Moses Fiddler
- Albert Mamakwa
- New Osnaburgh Band, Chief Maurice Loon
- Cat Lake Band, Chief Jasper Keesickquayash
- John Cooke
- Jim Mezzatay
- Slate Falls Band, Levius Wesley
- James Waboose
- North Caribou Lake Band, Chief Saul Keeash
- Muskrat Dam Band, Arthur Beady
- Bearskin Lake Band, Chief Tom Kam
- Sachigo Lake Band, Peter Barkman and Solomon Beady
- Pehtabun Area Chiefs Council, Bill Mamakeesic, Chairman
- Ambrose Mikinac
- Edward Machimity

OSNABURGH — December 7, 1977

- Big Trout Lake Band, Chief Stanley Sainnawap
- Grand Council Treaty #9, Chief Gerald McKay
- Wunnumin Lake Band, Chief John Bighead
- Kingfisher Lake Band, Chief Simon Sakakeep
- Angling Lake Band, Chief Ananias Winter
- Simon Frogg
- Fort Severn Band, Chief Elijah Stoney
- Kasabonika Lake Band, Councillor Jeremiah McKay and Harry Semple
- Long Dog Lake, Henry Frogg and Simon Frogg
- Grand Council Treaty #9, Fred Plain
- Lakehead University, Native Students Association, Ruby Morris and Garnet Angecone
- Ange Veilleux
- Family and Children's Services of the District of Kenora, Joyce Timpson
- Mrs. M. Kwandibens
- Roy Kaminawash
- Councillor Joseph Skunk

TORONTO — December 15, 1977

- Provincial Secretariat for Social Development, Maureen Quigley
- University of Waterloo, School of Urban and Regional Planning, Roger Suffling
- University of Waterloo, Department of Man-Environment Studies, Carol Farkas
- Northern Ontario Tourist Outfitters Association, Dean Wenborne, President
- Planned Parenthood Ontario, Mrs. Eleanor McDonald, Executive Director
- Joe De Pencier
- Trent University Native Association, Reid Dingwall
- Ministry of Colleges and Universities, Marie Louise Sebald
- Pollution Probe, Linda Pim
- Native Canadian Centre of Toronto, Roger Obonsawin, Executive Director
- Canadian Association in Support of the Native Peoples, Toronto Chapter, Laura Kennedy
- Laurentian University, Dr. Tom Alcoze
- Laurentian University, Department of Geography, Ron Anderson
- University of Sudbury, Department of Native Studies, James Dumont
- University of Toronto, Faculty of Medicine, Department of Psychiatry, Dr. Gerald H.C. Greenbaum
- Ministry of Community and Social Services, Dr. Cliff Williams
- Canadian Coalition for Nuclear Responsibility, Patrick Dare
- The Association of Concerned Torontonians Inquiring into Ontario North, Paul Kennedy
- University of Toronto, Faculty of Forestry and Landscape Architecture, Dr. Paul Aird
- York University, President's Advisory Committee on Northern Studies, Dr. Graham Beakhurst
- A Group of Concerned Ottawa Citizens, Ann Cole

TORONTO — December 16, 1977

- Development Education Centre, Eric King
- University of Toronto, Institute for Environmental Studies, Dr. Kenneth Hare

- Ministry of Health, Gordon Martin
- Ontario Public Interest Research Group, Connie Clement
- Ministry of Education, R. Hunter and W. Morgan
- Chief Peter Kelly
- Ontario Society for Environmental Management, Dr. Robert Dorney and Tom Lowen
- Frontier College, Jack Pearpoint
- Lakehead University, Dr. Robert Rosehart, Dean
- School of Experiential Education, Susan Stopps
- Ministry of Energy, Richard Lundeen
- The Committee in Support of Native Concerns, London, George Webb
- University of Waterloo, Faculty of Environmental Studies, R.T. Newkirk, Associate Professor and J.G. Nelson, Dean
- Oxfam-Canada, Dr. Roger Rolfe
- Ministry of Labour, Gerald Swartz
- Quaker Committee on Native Concerns, Nancy Pocock
- National and Provincial Parks Association of Canada, Carol Bailey
- Ontario Welfare Council, Donald Bellamy and David Kennedy
- Continental Hydroponics Limited, Gerald Rosenberg
- The Conservation Council of Ontario, M.J. Bacon, President

TIMMINS — December 21, 1977

- Canadian Mental Health Association, Timmins Branch, Shirley Rokeby
- Provincial Secretary for Resources Development, Honourable Rene Brunelle
- Town of Smooth Rock Falls, P. Kelly, Mayor
- Canadian Civil Liberties Association, Timmins Chapter, Martha Laughren
- The Cochrane District Health Council, Floyd Dale
- Northeastern Ontario Municipalities Action Group, Rene Piche, Chairman
- Prospectors and Developers Association, Porcupine Branch, John Larche
- Timmins Women's Resource Centre, Lynne Wisniewski
- Allan Pope, MPP
- Mike Zudel
- Gerry Martin

SANDY LAKE — January 10, 1978

- Tom Fiddler
- Grand Council Treaty # 9, Wally McKay
- North Spirit Lake, Councillor Norman Ray
- Deer Lake Band, Arthur Meekis
- Sandy Lake Band, Chief Saul Fiddler
- MacDowell Lake Band, Magnus James
- Poplar Hill Band, Councillor Judas Kettle Strang and Absolum Moose
- Fred Meekis
- Pikangikum Band, Chief Ben Quill

SANDY LAKE — January 11, 1978

- Sandy Lake Council on Alcohol and Drug Abuse, Abel Ray and Joe Meekis
- Kitiwin Communications Association, Eddie Fiddler and Donald Mamakeesic
- Northern Native Education Council, Richard Morris
- Whitehead Moose
- Pehtabun Area Chiefs Council, Bill Mamakeesic, Chairman
- Jacob Fiddler

KENORA — January 17, 1978

- Grand Council Treaty # 3, John Kelly, Grand Chief
- Town of Kenora, George McMillan, Councillor
- Ministry of Culture and Recreation, Northwest Region, Paddy Reid, Regional Archaeologist
- Northwestern Ontario Municipal Association, W. Wake, President
- Northwestern Commercial Fisheries Federation, Alice Longe
- Lake of the Woods Pow-Wow Club, Joe Morrison
- Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters, Lee Doyle
- Ontario Human Rights Commission, Bromley Armstrong
- Canadian Institute of Forestry, Lake of the Woods Section, G. Brown
- Northwestern Ontario District Progressive Conservative Youth Association, Fergus Devins
- Kenora Paper Mill Unions Federated Committee, L. Hudson
- Nancy Morrison
- Warner Troyer
- Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association, Zone 1, Brenda Prouty
- Town of Keewatin, Township of Jaffray and Melick, R.W. Kahoot, Mayor
- Ontario Federation of Labour, Clifford Pilkey and Shelley Acheson
- Ministry of Natural Resources, R. Riley
- Roberta Keesick
- Canadian Mental Health Association, Ontario Division, Wendy Hill
- Kenora Ministerial Association, Reverend John Fullmer
- Dr. Brian Russell
- Bearskin Lake Air Service, Karl Frisen
- Kenora Women's Coalition, Valerie Kellberg and Rosalyn Copenace
- Kenora District Campowner's Association, Dick Motlong
- Confederation College of Applied Arts and Technology, Richard Staples, Danny Dumas and Brian Larson
- Canadian Paperworkers Union, Local 238, Carl Stephens, President
- The Kenora-Keewatin and District Labour Council, Carl Stephens
- Reverend Stuart Harvey

WHITEDOG — January 18, 1978

- Islington Band (Whitedog Reserve), Chief Roy McDonald
- Councillor Charles Wagamese
- Lori Wagamese
- Grand Council Treaty # 3, John Kelly, Grand Chief
- Grassy Narrows Band, Chief Simon Fobister
- Fred Cameron
- Baptist Bigblood
- Tony Henry
- William McDonald
- Robert Land, Sr.
- Tommy Keesick
- Marcel Pahpahsay
- Sister Simone Lefebvre
- Anti-Mercury Ojibway Group (A-MOG), Tony Henry
- Allan Carpenter

KENORA — January 19, 1978

- Ted Hall

- Grand Council Treaty # 3, John Kelly, Grand Chief
- Grand Council Treaty # 3, Chief Philip Gardner
- Grand Council Treaty # 3, Chief Peter Kelly
- Grand Council Treaty # 3, Willie Wilson
- Grand Council Treaty # 3, Nancy Morrison
- Grand Council Treaty # 3, Shirley Chapman
- Shoal Lake Band, Chief Robin Greene
- Grand Council Treaty # 3, Colin Wasacase
- Kenora Rotary Club, A. Dodds
- Addiction Research Foundation, Garth Toombs and Joe Brown
- Publicity Board of Kenora, Randy Jackson
- Kenora-Rainy River District Health Council, Bob Muir
- Dave Schwartz
- Mac Morrison
- Barry Gibson
- Atikaki Council, Marc Wermager, Executive Director
- Kenora Physically Handicapped Action Group, Winnie Magnusson
- Unorganized Communities Association of Northwestern Ontario, Kath Davis, Executive Director
- Thunder Bay Chamber of Commerce, Keith Jobbitt
- North of Superior Travel Association, Keith Jobbitt
- Law Union of Ontario, Bob Edwards
- Mantario Wilderness Society, T.P. Walker
- Kenora and District Chamber of Commerce, Doug Johnson
- Barney Lamm
- Fred Greene

MOOSONEE — February 1, 1978

- Grand Council Treaty # 9, Chief Andrew Rickard, President
- Moosonee Development Area Board, Ray Cool, Chairman
- Arnold Peters, MP
- James Bay Education Centre, Ivor Jones, Director
- Moosonee Board of Trade, Harold Peters, Secretary
- Moosonee Public School, Grade 8
- Moosonee Recreation Committee, Jacques Begin
- Daniel Spence
- Northern Native Education Council, Richard Morris
- North Cochrane District Family Services, Ron Pulsifer, President
- Moosonee Metis Association, Bonnie Trapper
- Bishop Leguerriere
- Frederick Whiskeychan
- Wa-Wa-Ta Native Communications Society, Garnet Angecone
- Joe Linklater
- James Locke
- Ross Irwin

MOOSE FACTORY — February 2, 1978

- James Wesley
- Kashechawan Band, Chief Willie Stevens and Councillor Sinclair Williams
- Attawapiskat Band, Chief Fred Wesley
- James Bay Chiefs, Chief Tom Archibald
- Fort Albany Band, Chief John Nakogee
- Winisk Band, Chief Louis John-George

- Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Honourable Hugh Faulkner
- John Fletcher
- Grade 5A, Moose Fort School, Susan Vincent
- Gilbert Faries
- Emile Nakogee
- Moose Band, Chief Munroe Linklater
- Grade 6B, Moose Factory Public School, Colleen McLeod and Wally Turner
- Raphael Wabano
- St. Thomas' Anglican Church, Dr. Redford Louttit and Reverend J.A. Stennett
- John Long
- Grade 5, Moose Factory Public School, Lyle McLeod, Brian Wesley, Howard Rickard and Heather Faries
- James Bay Cree Society, Peggy Sailors, Clifford Trapper and Ida Faries
- Simeon Metat
- Moose Factory Island Public School Board, Patrick Chilton, Secretary-Treasurer
- Warner West
- Ernie T.S. Sutherland
- Margaret Solomon
- Sinclair Cheechoo
- George Katukapupit
- Sinclair Williams
- Grand Council Treaty # 9, Chief A. Rickard

APPENDIX H

Written Submissions to the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment

ABITIBI PAPER COMPANY LIMITED, H. Rosier, President
 ADOLESCENT PROGRAM, MOOSE FACTORY ZONE, Dr. D.W. Richardson
 ALGOMA CENTRAL RAILWAY, S.A. Black, General Manager
 ALGOMA STEEL CORPORATION LIMITED, John MacNamara, President
 ASSOCIATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES TECHNICIANS
 BALMERTOWN, THE IMPROVEMENT DISTRICT OF
 BENNETT, Ruth, Ovid, Colorado
 BRENNAN, Roger, Windsor, Ontario
 BROUGHTON, Jim, Milton, Ontario
 CALVIN CHRISTIAN MEMORIAL SCHOOL
 CANADIAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION
 CANADIAN PULP AND PAPER ASSOCIATION, Gordon Minnes, Secretary
 COLLINS, John J., Toronto, Ontario
 CORRISTINE, Susan, Toronto, Ontario
 CROFTS, Bruce H., Toronto, Ontario
 DINGLE, Jennifer, Downsview, Ontario
 DOMINION FOUNDRIES & STEEL LIMITED, F.H. Sherman, President
 DOMTAR WOODLANDS LIMITED, H.J. Iverson, R.P.E., Manager of Forestry
 FEAR, Julia K., Toronto, Ontario

FINLAYSON, Donald, Toronto, Ontario
 FORD, Paul M., Elmira, New York
 FRANKEL, Jessica, San Diego, California
 GERALDTON DISTRICT AIRPORT COMMISSION
 GERALDTON DISTRICT HOSPITAL, Bessie P. Newman, Administrator
 GRIFFITHS, C.O., Oxdrift, Ontario
 HALL, Michael B., Mount Berry, Georgia
 KAMINISTQUIA THEATRE LABORATORY, Michael Sobota
 KENDRICK, Loreine Y., Brooklyn, New York
 KITCHENER-CONESTOGA ROTARY CLUB
 KLAPPER, Marion Foley, Jamaica, New York
 KUCHERAN, Dan M.
 LEE, Peter, Winnipeg, Manitoba
 LESIUK, John, Red Lake, Ontario
 LIEDTKE, G.A., Ear Falls, Ontario
 MALACHI CAMPERS' ASSOCIATION, D. Bruce Main, President
 MARTIN, David, Lakehead University
 MATTSO, Ronald E., Minneapolis, Minnesota
 MERKLI, Guido, Dryden, Ontario
 MOFFAT, D.S., Ottawa, Ontario
 MORTON, Irma, Geraldton, Ontario
 MUNICIPAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON PROVINCIAL PLANNING, North
 western Ontario, Dale Willoughby, Chairman
 NATIONAL SURVIVAL INSTITUTE, Beatrice Oliverstri
 ONTARIO FORESTRY ASSOCIATION, W.T. Foster, President
 ONTARIO MINISTRY OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
 ONTARIO MINISTRY OF HOUSING, D.A. Crosbie, Deputy Minister
 ONTARIO MINISTRY OF INDUSTRY AND TOURISM
 PIPPY, Harold, Burlington, Ontario
 PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN CANADA Board of World Mission
 PRESS, Marla J., Brooklyn, New York
 PRESSMAN, Ruth V., Brooklyn, New York
 PYLE, Kathy, Delhi, New York
 REID, Patrick, MPP, Rainy River District
 ROWLEY, John P., Richmond, Virginia
 RUTHERFORD, S.B., Orono, Ontario
 SAVAGE, Harvey S., Toronto, Ontario
 SCHUTZ, J. Evelyn, Central City, Nebraska
 SIPPELL, David W., Sioux Lookout, Ontario
 SUK, Jennifer, St. Catherines, Ontario
 TELESAT CANADA, Douglas Golden, President
 TETROE, Gordon, Kenora, Ontario
 THUNDER BAY & DISTRICT LABOUR COUNCIL
 UNITED SOCIETY OF FRIENDS WOMEN, I.W. Patrick, Stewardship Secretary
 UNITED STEEL WORKERS OF AMERICA, G. Wonnick
 VACHON, Joanne, North Bay, Ontario
 VALOIS, Elizabeth, Narragansett, Rhode Island
 WALSH, Norman, Oneonta, New York
 WARING, Y., Jefferson, New York
 WHITE, Jo-Anne, Sudbury, Ontario
 WOLFE, Robert and Catherine, New Liskeard, Ontario
 WRIGHT, Daniel A. Atkikokan, Ontario

APPENDIX I

Notes and Corrections

The following corrections to the text were submitted by the federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

1. "Page 24, Transportation and Communication, the statement, 'The settlements along the coast are served by a federal government-operated barge service out of Moosonee.' This is not true. The existing water freighting service is privately owned and operated."
2. "Under Services and Amenities on page 25, it is stated, 'In the Indian communities or reserves, medical services are the responsibility of the federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND).' This is not true as federal medical services for Indian people are administered by the Department of National Health and Welfare."

The drawing on page 143 of an above-ground pipeline was not meant to depict the Polar Gas Project pipeline. The Polar Gas Project submission to the Commission stated that: "Present plans call for a 42-inch diameter buried pipeline."

(Polar Gas Project, Geraldton, p. 1254)

	78:1	78:2	78:3	78:4	79:1	79:2	79:3	79:4	80:1	80:2	80:3	80:4	81:1	81:2	81:3	81:4
TGF	36928.	38468.	39171.	39667.	40428.	41233.	41776.	42907.	44288.	45588.	47103.	48524.	50263.	51760.	53267.
TGPV&LH	51636.	52868.	53360.	54104.	55431.	57555.	59182.	60600.	62849.	64535.	66432.	68277.	70014.	72059.	74022.
TLBC	8300.	-8018.	-8864.	-8603.	-9020.	-9055.	-8823.	-9537.	-9828.	-10410.	-11078.	-11606.	-11963.	-12168.	-12382.
TXCNDUTYGA	2624.	2522.	2361.	2630.	2710.	2742.	2699.	2865.	2929.	2983.	3066.	3160.	3269.	3337.	3425.
TXCSALEGFA	5220.	4723.	5784.	4576.	4225.	4333.	4378.	4532.	4629.	4718.	4834.	4958.	5088.	5209.	5332.
TXGPV&LO	13818.	13387.	13232.	14318.	14663.	15104.	15512.	15869.	16265.	16650.	17054.	17477.	18066.	18660.	19247.
TXSALESFV	5514.	5001.	4812.	5289.	5592.	6074.	6284.	6372.	6637.	6814.	6974.	7176.	7387.	7575.	7772.
UCAP	0.911	0.907	0.904	0.900	0.899	0.896	0.893	0.887	0.889	0.901	0.905	0.908	0.911	0.913
VGFFER	0.938	0.935	0.933	0.931	0.926	0.920	0.916	0.912	0.908	0.904	0.901	0.898	0.898	0.900
VGPPV&PER	14048.	14724.	14776.	14428.	14782.	15077.	15845.	15940.	16084.	16210.	16618.	17192.	17518.	17858.	18193.
WRATE	8692.	8760.	9300.	9288.	9413.	9816.	10234.	10374.	10666.	10702.	10920.	11199.	11348.	11651.	11909.
WSSL	12.73	12.93	13.04	13.31	13.58	13.86	14.12	14.40	14.68	15.24	15.55	15.87	16.20	16.53	16.86
WUIWAX	126432.	129716.	132320.	135840.	138973.	142286.	145468.	148492.	151137.	155478.	159587.	163854.	167891.	172648.	177515.
YD	240.	240.	240.	241.	261.	260.	260.	279.	279.	279.	278.	298.	305.	313.	321.
YDN15&VR71	151284.	154948.	158192.	161094.	166082.	171082.	176075.	180159.	185077.	189970.	195215.	200685.	206403.	212026.	217498.
YDPN15&VR71	5.452	5.445	5.424	5.381	5.422	5.455	5.492	5.504	5.548	5.592	5.642	5.696	5.747	5.804	5.851
YDTRN15&VR71	5.458	5.492	5.519	5.540	5.562	5.586	5.612	5.636	5.663	5.691	5.723	5.756	5.792	5.831	5.813
YD71	0.006	-0.046	-0.095	-0.159	-0.140	-0.131	-0.120	-0.132	-0.114	-0.099	-0.081	-0.061	-0.046	-0.027	-0.020
YIGF	91410.	91739.	91812.	91794.	92915.	93895.	94942.	95553.	96763.	97910.	99155.	100481.	101904.	103243.	104500.
YIGPV&LH	4436.	4436.	4140.	3857.	4201.	4324.	4503.	4655.	4740.	4772.	4797.	4843.	4909.	4941.	4976.
YN	5988.	6320.	6592.	6720.	7245.	7435.	7689.	7860.	8323.	8552.	8995.	9215.	9419.	9628.	9842.
YP	172082.	180004.	185820.	188290.	193916.	198678.	203862.	208154.	215999.	222557.	229786.	236866.	244191.	251280.	258081.
YQ	183884.	189256.	193468.	197395.	203190.	208981.	214800.	219629.	225440.	231527.	237949.	244707.	251394.	258710.	265794.
ZA	144246.	148862.	151981.	155151.	159828.	164501.	169197.	173094.	177783.	182695.	187878.	193332.	198728.	204632.	210350.
ZB	16064.	16780.	17388.	17644.	18303.	18552.	18607.	18245.	19873.	20327.	21234.	22278.	23103.	23660.	24315.
ZB&IVA	24364.	24828.	26252.	26247.	27163.	27571.	27663.	27069.	29410.	30155.	31644.	33556.	34709.	35822.	36149.
	20296.	20856.	23064.	23415.	24362.	24638.	24941.	24722.	27371.	28041.	29261.	30633.	31893.	32679.	33252.

Data Resources of Canada

	78:1	78:2	78:3	78:4	79:1	79:2	79:3	79:4	80:1	80:2	80:3	80:4	81:1	81:2	81:3	81:4
PSW&P	139.4	141.8	144.2	145.0	147.6	150.6	153.1	155.1	157.1	158.9	161.3	163.4	165.4	167.4	169.4	171.3
PSAPR	104.1	200.5	203.0	210.4	215.6	219.7	225.2	225.2	227.4	229.7	232.8	236.6	240.1	244.0	247.6	250.9
PSPETCORAL	237.9	238.4	239.0	241.9	242.4	243.8	245.9	248.1	250.1	252.3	254.5	256.5	258.5	260.5	262.5	263.6
PSPRIMTL	197.6	202.0	209.7	217.9	223.8	228.6	232.8	235.5	238.7	242.5	247.5	252.0	257.4	263.0	268.3	273.6
PSRP	153.4	155.1	157.1	158.1	162.7	165.1	167.6	170.0	172.2	174.5	177.3	180.3	183.6	187.0	190.3	193.7
PSWOOD	213.4	215.9	225.6	243.5	245.9	251.0	251.0	250.1	251.6	256.5	262.9	269.9	276.3	283.0	288.2	291.6
PWIMTL	195.4	198.8	204.2	209.6	214.7	218.5	221.6	223.0	225.4	228.1	231.9	236.3	240.9	245.8	250.5	255.1
PWIMTL	222.5	225.0	225.8	230.2	234.9	238.1	240.4	240.8	242.1	244.1	247.0	250.4	254.1	258.0	261.8	265.3
PWIMTL	0.068	0.069	0.066	0.052	0.060	0.053	0.048	0.049	0.041	0.056	0.063	0.036	0.064	0.050	0.029	0.042
RALIQDPAW	11628	11888	13164	12472	12809	12722	12456	12006	13612	14089	15027	15997	16852	17265	17451	17658
RE	234.	254.	351.	483.	512.	540.	553.	584.	604.	622.	639.	655.	670.	685.	701.	718.
RETEC	276.	276.	273.	273.	273.	273.	273.	273.	273.	273.	273.	273.	273.	273.	273.	273.
RETEGPV&L	7.16	7.62	8.37	9.12	10.62	10.32	9.55	9.03	8.91	8.66	8.39	8.54	8.43	8.57	8.89	9.06
RMALDDBNS	9.95	9.90	9.90	10.27	10.53	10.59	10.43	10.30	10.34	10.59	10.72	10.97	10.61	10.74	10.62	10.45
RMAYWTOINDNS	10.00	10.03	9.90	10.30	10.50	10.57	10.40	10.25	10.39	10.58	10.69	10.69	10.61	10.64	10.56	10.45
RMAYWTOINDNS	9.79	9.83	9.74	10.13	10.34	10.38	10.20	10.05	10.13	10.26	10.38	10.64	10.35	10.38	10.28	10.18
RMAYWTOINDNS	5.75	6.75	7.08	8.39	9.25	9.48	9.02	8.59	7.96	7.71	7.63	7.71	7.66	7.87	8.10	8.26
RMAYWTOINDNS	7.48	8.37	8.85	10.31	11.41	11.23	10.12	9.93	9.44	9.49	9.17	9.46	9.66	9.74	10.11	10.08
RMAYWTOINDNS	8.34	9.05	10.45	11.51	11.41	11.28	10.40	9.86	9.61	9.57	9.32	9.62	9.65	9.83	10.14	10.22
RMAYWTOINDNS	7.91	8.55	8.65	9.55	10.44	9.92	9.47	9.02	8.78	8.78	8.88	9.07	8.80	8.89	8.93	8.89
RMAYWTOINDNS	9.13	9.23	9.16	9.55	10.44	10.43	10.04	9.57	9.45	9.49	9.58	9.69	9.41	9.50	9.46	9.34
RMAYWTOINDNS	8.50	8.84	8.89	9.72	10.07	10.05	9.56	9.15	8.95	9.00	9.13	9.30	9.05	9.10	9.13	9.08
RMAYWTOINDNS	8.76	8.96	8.98	9.82	10.41	10.14	9.65	9.31	9.10	9.16	9.28	9.43	9.18	9.21	9.21	9.16
RMAYWTOINDNS	7.39	8.22	8.88	10.21	10.74	10.52	9.61	9.02	8.85	8.59	8.37	8.47	8.42	8.55	8.80	8.96
RMAYWTOINDNS	8.42	9.25	9.75	11.32	11.97	12.18	11.65	11.20	10.52	10.24	10.16	10.25	10.18	10.42	10.67	10.85
RMAYWTOINDNS	10.32	10.39	10.43	10.68	11.88	11.86	11.36	10.76	10.73	10.58	10.68	10.79	10.50	10.59	10.54	10.43
RMAYWTOINDNS	8.84	9.26	9.50	11.08	11.06	11.06	11.06	9.96	9.73	9.78	9.87	9.79	9.69	9.79	9.74	9.62
RMAYWTOINDNS	62.467	62.833	62.548	62.625	62.671	62.756	62.370	62.011	62.322	62.416	62.669	62.490	62.609	62.720	62.742	62.742
RMAYWTOINDNS	1.031	1.031	1.013	1.016	1.022	1.032	1.040	1.034	1.039	1.044	1.044	1.044	1.051	1.055	1.064	1.070
RMAYWTOINDNS	0.116	0.116	0.116	0.116	0.116	0.116	0.116	0.116	0.116	0.116	0.116	0.116	0.116	0.116	0.116	0.116
RMAYWTOINDNS	0.510	0.510	0.510	0.510	0.510	0.510	0.510	0.510	0.510	0.510	0.510	0.510	0.510	0.510	0.510	0.510
RMAYWTOINDNS	0.480	0.480	0.480	0.480	0.480	0.480	0.480	0.480	0.480	0.480	0.480	0.480	0.480	0.480	0.480	0.480
RMAYWTOINDNS	0.450	0.450	0.450	0.450	0.450	0.450	0.450	0.450	0.450	0.450	0.450	0.450	0.450	0.450	0.450	0.450
RMAYWTOINDNS	0.520	0.520	0.520	0.520	0.520	0.520	0.520	0.520	0.520	0.520	0.520	0.520	0.520	0.520	0.520	0.520
RMAYWTOINDNS	0.153	0.153	0.153	0.153	0.153	0.153	0.153	0.153	0.153	0.153	0.153	0.153	0.153	0.153	0.153	0.153
RMAYWTOINDNS	8.60	8.47	8.33	8.33	8.33	8.33	8.33	8.33	8.33	8.33	8.33	8.33	8.33	8.33	8.33	8.33
RMAYWTOINDNS	1.03	1.03	1.03	1.03	1.03	1.03	1.03	1.03	1.03	1.03	1.03	1.03	1.03	1.03	1.03	1.03
RMAYWTOINDNS	1.127	1.127	1.127	1.127	1.127	1.127	1.127	1.127	1.127	1.127	1.127	1.127	1.127	1.127	1.127	1.127
RMAYWTOINDNS	1.113	1.113	1.113	1.113	1.113	1.113	1.113	1.113	1.113	1.113	1.113	1.113	1.113	1.113	1.113	1.113
RMAYWTOINDNS	1.114	1.114	1.114	1.114	1.114	1.114	1.114	1.114	1.114	1.114	1.114	1.114	1.114	1.114	1.114	1.114
RMAYWTOINDNS	1.1512	1.1512	1.1512	1.1512	1.1512	1.1512	1.1512	1.1512	1.1512	1.1512	1.1512	1.1512	1.1512	1.1512	1.1512	1.1512
RMAYWTOINDNS	3276.	2880.	2256.	1815.	1467.	1811.	1794.	1898.	2823.	3268.	3702.	3931.	4203.	4521.	4921.	5172.
RMAYWTOINDNS	49700.	51684.	52844.	52980.	53520.	54819.	55981.	56668.	59033.	62462.	65680.	68521.	71468.	74338.	76784.	79283.
RMAYWTOINDNS	25244.	26836.	27264.	25709.	25428.	25911.	26332.	26851.	28851.	30627.	32975.	34882.	36871.	38726.	40202.	41663.
RMAYWTOINDNS	18092.	18184.	17264.	17669.	18534.	18962.	19533.	20051.	19707.	20242.	21017.	21569.	22374.	23042.	23658.	24342.
RMAYWTOINDNS	11.96	11.74	10.92	10.97	11.16	11.08	11.09	11.13	10.65	10.71	10.65	10.65	10.71	10.84	10.87	10.88
RMAYWTOINDNS	1013.	1003.	1078.	965.	961.	969.	982.	930.	1061.	1071.	1065.	1083.	1107.	1131.	1144.	1162.
RMAYWTOINDNS	9312.	10459.	11414.	11788.	12144.	12531.	12953.	13389.	13831.	14263.	14681.	15082.	15472.	15857.	16228.	16586.
RMAYWTOINDNS	11324.	115062.	115331.	116419.	117316.	118002.	118518.	118956.	121194.	122946.	124488.	126210.	127856.	129345.	130576.	131944.
RMAYWTOINDNS	8988.	8988.	8982.	8740.	8789.	9017.	9094.	8950.	9286.	9789.	10277.	10921.	11501.	11918.	12176.	12388.
RMAYWTOINDNS	5370.	5370.	5370.	5370.	5370.	5370.	5370.	5370.	5370.	5370.	5370.	5370.	5370.	5370.	5370.	5370.
RMAYWTOINDNS	2464.	2464.	2464.	2464.	2464.	2464.	2464.	2464.	2464.	2464.	2464.	2464.	2464.	2464.	2464.	2464.
RMAYWTOINDNS	16840.	16840.	16840.	16840.	16840.	16840.	16840.	16840.	16840.	16840.	16840.	16840.	16840.	16840.	16840.	16840.
RMAYWTOINDNS	2532.	2784.	2732.	2485.	2544.	2544.	2544.	2544.	2544.	2544.	2544.	2544.	2544.	2544.	2544.	2544.

